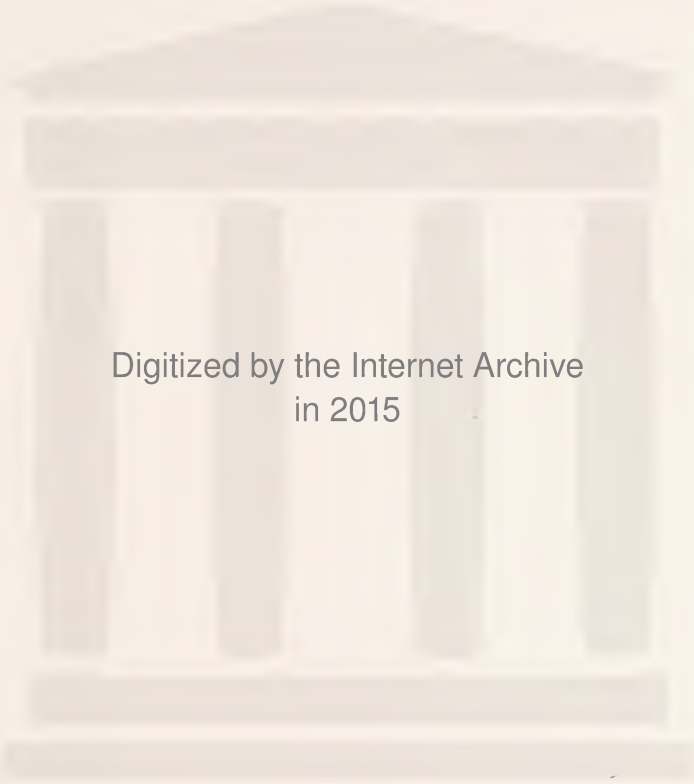
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LIVES

OF SEVENTY OF THE MOST EMINENT

PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ARCHITECTS

VOLUME II.

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LIVES OF SEVENTY

OF THE MOST EMINENT

PAINTERS, SCULPTORS

AND

ARCHITECTS

BY

GIORGIO VASARI

EDITED AND ANNOTATED IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY

E. H. AND E. W. BLASHFIELD

AND

A. A. HOPKINS

VOLUME II.

185938

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MICHELOZZO MICHELOZZI,[1] FLORENTINE SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT

[Born 1396 (?); died 1472.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—A. Schmarsow, *Nuovi Studi intorno a Michelozzo Michelozzi*, Series of Articles in Vol. VI. of the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*. Baron H. von Geymüller, *Die Architektonische Entwickelung Michelozzo's und Sein Zusammenwirkung mit Donatello*, *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, Vol. XV. Eugène Müntz (in *Le Tour du Monde*, XLIII. 337), *A travers la Toscane*; see the chapter on Montepulciano for the tomb of Aragazzi. For Michelozzo in the Palazzo Vecchio, see Aurelio Gotti, *Storia del Palazzo Vecchio*, 1889. G. Carocci, *Restauri a Palazzo Vecchio* in *Arte e Storia* for March 15, 1888. M. Parigi, *Descrizione Storica del Palazzo della Signoria o Palazzo Vecchio di Firenze*, Florence, 1888.

IF all who inhabit this world would consider that they may have to live when they can no longer work, there would not be so many who are reduced to beg that in their old age which they have squandered without any kind of restraint in their youth, when their large and liberal gains, blinding their judgment, have tempted them to spend beyond what was needful, and much more than was right and suitable. Wherefore, since he who has fallen from possessing much to having little or nothing, is often looked upon but coldly, each should endeavour, but in all rectitude, and preserving the medium, to prepare in such sort that he shall not have to beg in his old age. Thus, he who will do as Michelozzo did (who would not imitate his master, Donatello, in this respect, although he did so in his art), will live honourably all the days of his life, and will not be com-

[1] His name was Michelozzo di Bartolommeo di Gherardo, and he was probably born in 1396. Bartolommeo di Gherardo, a Burgundian tailor, was the first Florentine ancestor of the family. He was made a citizen of Florence in 1376.

pelled in his last years to go about, miserably seeking the means of existence.

Michelozzo studied sculpture and design, in his youth, under Donatello ;[2] and although he experienced some difficulty, he nevertheless pursued his labours to improve himself so steadily, whether in clay, in wax, or in marble, that, in the works which he afterwards produced, he constantly displayed much talent, and even genius. In one respect, however, Michelozzo surpassed many, and on the point in question may be said to have surpassed himself also. We here allude to the fact, that after the death of Brunellesco, Michelozzo was considered the most consistently *regular* architect of his time, and the one who most suitably and correctly arranged and distributed the different kinds of dwellings, whether palaces, monasteries, or houses, as will be declared in its proper place. Donatello availed himself for many years of Michelozzo's aid ; the latter having acquired great practice in works of marble, as well as in the casting of bronze.[3] Of this we have proof in the sepulchral monument erected, as we have said, in the church of San Giovanni, at Florence, by Donatello, for the Pope Giovanni Coscia, since the greater part of it was executed by him.[4] In the same place there is still to be seen a marble statue of Faith, by Michelozzo ; it is two braccia and a half high,[5] and is very beautiful. This figure was made at the same time with one of Hope, of the same size, and another of Charity, both executed by Donatello, but the work of Michelozzo does not lose by comparison with them.[6] Over

[2] Michelozzo collaborated for years with Donatello in many of his important works.

[3] Michelozzo worked with Ghiberti on the statue of St. Matthew before he was associated with Donatello, and in 1422 he assisted in the execution of Ghiberti's gates.

[4] The *three* figures on the lower part of this tomb are by Michelozzo. According to M. Müntz, this monument (1428) of Giovanni Coscia, Pope John XXIII., set the example in style for the mausoleums of the fifteenth century.

[5] A little less than two *braccia*.

[6] Michelozzo modelled the San Giovanni which Vasari attributes to Antonio del Pollajuolo ; it forms part of the silver altar of the Baptistery.

the sacristy and the rooms of the superintendents, which are opposite to San Giovanni, Michelozzo executed a San Giovannino, in full relief,[7] which is finished with extreme care, and was much praised. This artist was closely attached to the service of Cosimo de' Medici, to whom the superiority of his talents was well known, and who consequently caused him to prepare the model for the house and palace situated at the corner of the Via Larga, and beside San Giovannino; that which had been made by Filippo di Ser Brunellesco appearing to him, as we have said, too sumptuous and magnificent, and quite as likely to awaken envy among his fellow-citizens as to contribute to the grandeur and ornament of the city, or to his own convenience. Wherefore, as Cosimo considered the model made by Michelozzo satisfactory, he caused the building to be erected[8]

[7] This marble statue of a little St. John was executed by Antonio Rosellino (1447); it is in the Bargello, but in its place over the door where it originally stood is a little St. John in terra-cotta, said to be by Michelozzo. See Milanesi. Herr Schmarsow believes that a St. John in the Museo Nazionale (Bargello), Florence, attributed by Sig. U. Rossi to Michelozzo, is really by Bartolommeo Vellano da Padova. See *L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, VI. 241.

[8] The Palazzo Medici, now Riccardi, is the distinctive type of the Florentine fortress-palace of the merchant prince. The Pitti, which is vaster and grander in conception, was, according to Herr von Fabriczy, rather the real prototype of palatial architecture in Florence than was Michelozzo's construction; but the Pitti is only the torso of what Brunelleschi intended it to be, and is deprived of its crown, the cornice. The Strozzi, which is perhaps even finer than the Medici-Riccardi, is a later building, and to a certain extent its designer imitates Michelozzo. Michelozzo's palace, too, has been greatly changed, the Marquis Riccardi having nearly doubled the length of its *façade* in 1639. Fergusson, in criticising the monotonous effect caused by the two exactly equal ranges of upper windows, says that we must remember that these two stories contained the state apartments, and were necessarily somewhat formal in their distribution. Milizie severely criticises the arrangement of the first-story windows in reference to the main doorway, and finds the latter so simple as to be bare. Nevertheless we should not forget that in planning this place Michelozzo would naturally err rather on the side of simplicity than of richness, since Cosimo had just refused the design of Brunelleschi as too splendid for a private citizen, and likely to provoke jealousy, while the sumptuary laws, as in the case of the windows of the Pitti, must also be taken into consideration. The graduated rustication is an important feature in Michelozzo's *façade*, and, on the whole, this palace is one of the successful performances of the Renaissance. For an admirable notice of the Floren-

under his care; when it was completed in the manner that we now see, with all the utility, beauty, and graceful decorations so much admired, and which derive majesty and grandeur from their simplicity. Michelozzo deserves all the more credit for this building, since it was the first palace erected in Florence after modern rules, and in which the rooms were arranged with a view to convenience as well as beauty. The cellars are excavated to more than half their depth under ground, having four braccia beneath the earth that is, with three above, on account of the lights. There are, besides, butteries, store-rooms, etc., on the same level. In the first, or ground floor, are two court-yards, with magnificent colonnades (loggia), on which open various saloons, bed-chambers, ante-rooms, writing-rooms, offices, baths, kitchens, and reservoirs, with staircases, both for private and public use, all most commodiously arranged. In the upper floors are dwellings and apartments for a family, with all of those conveniences proper, not only to that of a private citizen, as Cosimo then was, but sufficient also for the most powerful and magnificent sovereign. Accordingly, in our time, kings, emperors, popes, and whatever of most illustrious Europe can boast in the way of princes, have been most commodiously lodged in this palace, to the infinite credit of the magnificent Cosimo, as well as to that of Michelozzo's eminent skill in architecture.

In the year 1433, when Cosimo was exiled, Michelozzo, who loved him greatly, and was faithfully devoted to his person, voluntarily accompanied him to Venice,[9] and would always remain with him during the whole time of his stay there; wherefore, in addition to the many designs and

tine house or palace of the fifteenth century, see Dr. Giuseppe Marcotti, *Guide-Souvenir de Florence*, pp. 32, 33.

[9] Perkins in his Tuscan Sculptors notes the importance of this visit of Michelozzo to Venetia and Lombardy, saying that he propagated in the north that development of the Renaissance which in Tuscany Brunelleschi and he had jointly impelled. We thus find the inevitable and ubiquitous Tuscan influence already exercised in Venice nearly a hundred years before Sansovino was to give it such development in his Library of San Marco.

models which he made in that city for various private dwellings and public buildings which he decorated for the friends of Cosimo and other nobles, Michelozzo constructed the library of the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, a house of the Black Monks of Santa Giustina. This was built by the command and at the expense of Cosimo, who completed it, not only externally, and with the wood-work, seats, and decorations required, but also furnished it with many books. Such was the occupation, and such the amusement of Cosimo during that exile, from which, having been recalled by his country, in the year 1434, he returned almost in triumph, and Michelozzo with him. The master was thus again in Florence at the time when it was perceived that the public palace of the Signoria began to show symptoms of decay, some of the columns of the court-yard giving way, either because the weight with which they were loaded was too great, or that their foundations were weak and awry, or perhaps because the parts which composed them were not well put together; but whatever may have been the cause of decay, the care of the restoration was entrusted to Michelozzo, who willingly accepted that charge, and the rather as, while in Venice, he had provided against a similar peril which was threatening a house in the neighbourhood of San Barnaba. A gentleman had a palace there which seemed on the point of falling, and he therefore put it into the hands of Michelozzo; whereupon the latter, according to what Michael Angelo Buonarotti formerly told me, caused a column to be constructed secretly, and when he had also prepared a number of props and supports, he concealed the whole in a boat, into which he entered himself, with several builders, when, in one night, he securely propped the house and replaced the column. Emboldened by this experience therefore, Michelozzo repaired the injury received by the palace of the Signoria, to his own honour as well as to the credit of those by the favour of whom such a charge had been committed to him. He refounded and reconstructed the columns, placing them in

the condition wherein we now see them. Having first constructed a massive framework of thick beams and very strong uprights, to strengthen the centres of the arches, which were formed of nut-wood, and which he now caused to assist in the support of the weight formerly borne up by the columns alone, he then removed such portions of the latter as were defective, by little and little, replacing the decayed parts by new pieces, prepared with great care; and this he effected in such a manner that the building did not suffer in any way, nor has it ever since sunk a hair's breadth. And to the end that his columns might be known from the others, Michelozzo constructed some with eight sides, and having capitals carved in foliage, after the modern fashion; others he made round, but all are most easily distinguished from those previously erected by Arnolfo.[10] When this had been accomplished, it was determined in pursuance of the advice of Michelozzo, by those who then governed the city, that the weight pressing on the arches of those columns should be diminished, and that the walls of that part should be reconstructed to that end. The buildings surrounding the court, from the arches upwards, were consequently altered; windows being made after the modern fashion, and similar to those which the master had constructed in the palace of the Medici; cavities were moreover hewn in the stones, and in these were placed the golden lilies still to be seen there;[11] all which Michelozzo caused to be completed with great promptitude. In the second floor, immediately above the windows of the before-mentioned court-yard, the architect contrived circular apertures, to give light to the rooms of the *entresol,* which are over those of the first floor, and where is now the hall of the Dugento. The third floor, finally, in which resided

[10] These columns and walls received in 1565 the decoration still to be seen upon them, and placed there to enhance the splendour of the wedding of Francesco de' Medici (afterwards Grand Duke) with Joanna of Austria.

[11] In 1809 the French removed them as too like the royal lilies of France, and furthermore as darkening the court-yard by the deep color of the grounds of the medallions.

the Signori and the Gonfaloniere, was more richly adorned, and on the side towards San Piero [12] Scheraggio, Michelozzo arranged a series of rooms for the Signori, who had previously all slept together in one great chamber. These apartments consisted of eight for the Signori, with a larger one for the Gonfaloniere, and they all opened upon a gallery, the windows of which looked on the court-yard. Above these apartments was a range of commodious rooms for the household of the palace, the officers of the courts, etc. In one of these rooms, that namely which is now the treasury, there is the portrait of Carlo Duke of Calabria, son of King Robert, who is represented kneeling before a figure of the Virgin. This picture is by the hand of Giotto.[13] In like manner, the architect provided rooms for the women-servants, the ushers, doorkeepers, trumpeters, musicians, pipers, mace-bearers, servants of the courts, heralds, and such-like, with all other apartments required in a palace of that character.[14] On the upper part of the gallery, and entirely around the court, Michelozzo erected a stone cornice, with a reservoir of water, which was filled by the rains, for the use of the fountains that were required to play at certain times. The improvements and decorations of the chapel, wherein mass is performed, were also executed by Michelozzo, and here he likewise constructed several rooms, the ceilings of which were highly enriched with lilies of gold on a ground of blue. At the same time he caused the ceilings of other rooms, both on the upper and lower floors of the palace, to be constructed anew, while the old ones which had been formerly made there in the ancient manner, were covered. In a word, he gave to the whole building that perfection of completeness which is proper to such a palace. The water from the wells, moreover, he contrived to convey to

[12] San Piero Scheraggio has been destroyed.

[13] The paintings have disappeared.

[14] The alterations were, according to Gaye, who is quoted by Milanesi, ordered by decrees of October 30, 1438; January 29, 1453; October 11, 1454.

the first floor,* where, by means of a wheel, it could be attained more easily than was usually the case. For one defect only did the ingenuity of Michelozzo fail to discover a remedy : this was the public staircase, which, being ill-arranged from the beginning, and situated in an inconvenient place, was too steep, insufficiently lighted, and in all respects badly constructed, with stairs of wood from the first floor upwards. He nevertheless laboured to such effect that a flight of circular steps was formed at the entrance to the court. He also made a door, with pillars, of *pietra forte*, and very beautiful capitals, carved with his own hand. This door had, besides, a cornice and double architrave, of very good design, in the frieze of which he placed the arms of the commune.[15] But, what was more, he made the whole staircase of *pietra forte*, up to the floor inhabited by the Signoria, and fortified it at the top and in the middle with a portcullis at each point, in case of tumults. At the summit of the stair he further constructed a door, which was called "the chain," by which there constantly stood a doorkeeper, who opened or closed it, accordingly as he was commanded by those who ruled. Michelozzo also rendered the fabric of the Campanile more secure, by means of very strong iron girders, this building having cracked beneath the weight which is improperly distributed at that part, over the supports of the cross-beams, that is, on the side towards the Piazza. Finally, he so greatly improved, and so ably restored this palace, that he was highly commended by the whole city ; and, in addition to other rewards, he was chosen one of the *Collegio*, which magistracy in Florence is esteemed highly honourable.[16] And now, if it should appear to any one that I have spoken at more

* The top floor rather (*l'ultimo piano*).

[15] This door has disappeared.

[16] The two most important magistracies of the city after the Signoria were held by the sixteen *Gonfalonieri* of the people and the twelve *Buonuomini*. Their two bodies "were called colleges because they could never meet apart from each other and from the Signoria, whether for the proposal of measures, or for the decision of business."—Varchi.

length on this subject than may perhaps seem needful, I deserve to be excused for this, inasmuch as, that, having shown in the life of Arnolfo, that this building was out of square, and destitute of correct proportion at its first erection in 1298 ; that it had columns of unequal sizes in the court-yard, with arches, some of which were large and some small, stairs ill-contrived, and rooms awry and badly proportioned, it was necessary that I should also show to what extent the building had profited by the skill and judgment of Michelozzi, although even he did not arrange it in such a manner that it could be commodiously inhabited or occupied in any manner without great discomfort and the utmost inconvenience. But when, at length, the Signor Duke Cosimo came, in the year 1538, to make it his habitation, his Excellency began to bring it into a better shape ; yet, as the intentions of the duke were never understood, or as the architects who were employed by him for many years on that work did not know how to execute his purposes, he resolved to try if there were not some means whereby, without destroying the old works, in which there was certainly something good, and proceeding in accordance with the plan he had formed in his mind, the staircases and apartments, ill-contrived and inconvenient as they were, might not be brought into somewhat better order, and arranged with more regard to convenience and proportion.

Having therefore caused the Aretine painter and architect, Giorgio Vasari, to be sent for from Rome, where he was employed in the service of Pope Julius III, the duke gave him a commission, not only to make a new arrangement of the rooms which he had already caused to be commenced in the upper part of the division opposite to the Corn Market (those rooms being also awry in consequence of the defects of the ground plan), but likewise commanded him to consider whether the palace could not, without destroying the work already done, be so contrived internally that communications might be established all over it, from one part to another, and from one room to another, by the means of

staircases, private and public, to be constructed in a manner that should make them as easy of ascent as was possible. Giorgio Vasari, therefore, while the above-mentioned rooms, which were already begun, were in process of decoration, the ceilings being enriched with oil paintings and gold, and the walls covered with frescoes, or in other cases adorned with stucco,—Giorgio, I say, examined the whole ground-plan of the palace minutely, both the new part and the old; and after he had determined, with no small labour and study, on the means to be adopted for executing what he proposed to do, he gradually began to bring the building, by little and little, into better form, and succeeded in uniting the rooms formerly separated, of which some were high and others low, almost without destroying any part of what had previously been done. But, to the end that the Signor Duke might see the design of the whole, Vasari prepared, in the space of six months, a model, in wood, representing the exact proportions of the entire fabric, which has rather the form and extent of a castle than of a palace. And this model having been approved by his Excellency, the work proceeded in accordance with it, and many commodious apartments were made, with easy staircases, private and public, which communicate with all the floors, and thus liberate the halls, which formerly were like a public road, since it was not possible to reach the upper stories without first passing through them. The whole was magnificently adorned with various paintings; and finally the roof of the great hall was raised twelve braccia above its previous height: insomuch that if Arnolfo, Michelozzo, and the other masters who had laboured on this building, from its first foundation to the present time, should return to life, they would not know it again; nay, they would rather believe that it was not their work, but a new construction and a different edifice.

But let us now return to Michelozzo: the church of San Giorgio had at this time been given [17] to the monks of San

[17] Milanesi says that they took possession June 19, 1435, and retained it till the end of the following January.

Domenico da Fiesole, but they did not occupy it longer than from about the middle of July to the end of January, because Cosimo de' Medici and Lorenzo his brother had obtained for them, from Pope Eugenius, the church and convent of San Marco, which had previously been occupied by Salvestrine monks, to whom San Giorgio was given in exchange. Moreover they (Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici), being much devoted to religion, and zealous for the Divine service and worship, gave orders that the above-named convent of San Marco should be entirely rebuilt according to the design and model of Michelozzo, commanding that it should be constructed on the most extensive and magnificent scale, with all the conveniences that those monks could possibly desire. This building the master commenced in the year 1437, and the first part completed was that above the old refectory [18] and opposite to the ducal stables, which had formerly been erected by the Duke Lorenzo de' Medici. In this place twenty cells were made, the roof was put on, and the various articles of wood work brought into the refectory, which was finished as we see it in our day. But the edifice was not proceeded with any further at that time, because it was necessary first to see what would be the end of a lawsuit,[19] which a certain Maestro Stefano, general of the aforesaid Salvestrine monks, had commenced against the monks of San Marco in relation to that convent. At length, the suit having ended in favour of the brothers of San Marco, the construction of the convent was resumed ; but it was again interrupted, for the principal chapel, which had been erected by Ser Pino Bonaccorsi, had afterwards devolved on a lady of the Caponsacchi [20] family, and from her it had passed to Mariotto Banchi. Lawsuits to I know not what amount then ensued ; and Mariotto having got through

[18] October 26, 1438, the friars of San Marco asked for a subsidy to rebuild their dormitory which had been burned. See Milanesi.

[19] The Salvestrine monks appealed against a bill of Eugenius IV. and a decree of Cosimo, which took away their convent and gave it to the Dominicans. The council decided for the latter. See Milanesi.

[20] The daughter of Ser Pino founded the chapel.

them all, and taken the said chapel from Agnolo della Casa to whom it had been either sold or given by the above-named Salvestrine monks, made it over to Cosimo de' Medici, who on his part gave Mariotto 500 scudi for the same. Subsequently, and when Cosimo had in like manner bought from the brotherhood of the Spirito Santo the site whereon the choir now stands, the chapel, the tribune, and the choir were built under the direction of Michelozzo, and were completed and furnished at all points in the year 1439. The library was afterwards erected, it was vaulted above and below, and had sixty-four bookcases of cypress wood filled with most valuable books.[21] The dormitory, which was in the form of a square, was next built, and finally the cloister was completed, with all the other truly commodious apartments of that convent, which is believed to be the most perfectly arranged, the most beautiful and most convenient building of its kind that can be found in Italy, thanks to the skill and industry of Michelozzo, who gave it up to its occupants entirely finished in the year 1452.[22] Cosimo de' Medici is said to have expended 36,000 ducats on this fabric;[23] it is added that while it was in course of construction, he gave the monks 366 ducats every year for their support. Of the erection and consecration of this temple certain details may be read in an epitaph (sic) of marble placed over the door leading into the sacristy, and which is in the following words :

"Cum hoc templum Marco Evangelistæ dicatum magnificis sumptibus Cl. V. Cosmi Medicis tandem absolutum esset, Euge-

[21] In this library was deposited the celebrated collection of Niccolò Niccoli, whose liabilities Cosimo had cancelled, on condition that he should have the free disposal of these books, in the arrangement of which he availed himself of the counsels of Thomas of Sarzana, afterwards Pope Nicholas V.—Schorn.

[22] Milanesi cites annalists who affirm that the convent was finished in 1443, not 1452. The tribune and choir of the church were made over in 1678.

[23] This convent, although enlarged and in some parts modernized, still remains for the greater part as it was left by Michelozzo. So far Masselli. The Florentine commentators of 1846-49 adduce the authority of certain chroniclers of the convent, who declare the plan of their monastery to be due to Brunellesco, attributing the direction and execution only to Michelozzo. —Mrs. Foster's Notes.

nius Quartus Romanus Pontifex maxima Cardinalium, Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, aliorumque sacerdotum frequentia comitatus, id celeberrimo Epiphaniæ die, solemni more servato, consecravit. Tum etiam quotannis omnibus, qui eodem die festo annuas statasque consecrationis ceremonias casti pieque celebraverint viserintve, temporis luendis peccatis suis debiti septem annos totidemque quadragesimas apostolica remisit auctoritate. A.M.CCCC.XLII.[24]"

In like manner Cosimo commanded the noviciate of Santa Croce to be constructed after the designs of Michelozzo, with the chapel of the same, and the entrance which leads from the church to the sacristy, and which communicates with the noviciate, as well as with the stair-case of the dormitory. These works, whether as regards their beauty of form, convenience, or decorations, are not inferior to any of the buildings, whatever their character, erected by the truly magnificent Cosimo de' Medici, or which were carried into execution by Michelozzo. Among other particulars, was the door leading from the church to the above-named portions of the fabric, which the master executed in the grey stone called *macigno*, and which was much commended for its novelty, and for the beauty of its decorations; since it was at that time but little the custom to imitate the good manner of the ancients, as Michelozzo did in that case.[25] Cosimo de' Medici also caused the palace of Cafaggiuolo in Mugello,[26] to be constructed by the advice and after the plans of Michelozzo, who gave it the form of a fortress, surrounded by trenches: he likewise proceeded to lay out farms, and make roads about the domain, while he further planted gardens, constructed fountains, with

[24] The building, in spite of alterations, remains essentially a convent of the fifteenth century, and is, with its beamed roofs, its many cells and corridors decorated by Fra Angelico, its cloisters, its frescoed chapter-house and refectory, one of the most interesting buildings in Europe. It was the home of Savonarola, of Fra Angelico, of Sant' Antonino, and has given hospitality to popes and princes.

[25] All these portions of Santa Croce still exist.

[26] Cafaggiuolo has been greatly changed and has lost its trenches.

groves around them, and made aviaries, with all the other requisites to a complete country residence. At the distance of two miles from the palace, and in a place called the Friars' Wood, Cosimo completed the erection of a convent, for the barefooted monks of St. Francis ; this he also confided to the care of Michelozzo, and a very beautiful work it is.[27] At Trebbio, in like manner, Michelozzo executed various improvements ; as he also did at the palace of Villa Careggi,[28] which was a rich and magnificent building, whither Michelozzo conducted the water for the fountain which we now see there. For Giovanni, the son of Cosimo de' Medici, the same architect constructed another magnificent and noble palace at Fiesole, the foundations for the lower part of which were sunk at a very great expense, in the declivity of the hill, but this was not without its equivalent advantage, since the master contrived to place in that portion of the edifice, various cellars, store-rooms, stables, and other handsome and useful appurtenances to the dwelling of a noble. Above these, and in addition to the ordinary halls, chambers, and other apartments usual in such buildings, Michelozzo constructed some for books, with others for music. He gave in short a clear proof, in this palace, of the eminent skill which he possessed in architecture, since in addition to all that we have said, it may be truly affirmed to have been built in such a manner, that although much exposed on that eminence, it has never sunk in the smallest degree. This palace[29] being completed, Michelozzo built the church[30] and convent of the monks of San Girolamo above it, and almost at the summit of the hill, which was also done at the expense of Giovanni. The design and model of the hospital, which Cosimo de' Medici

[27] Still existing.

[28] Villa Careggi still exists ; Lorenzo the Magnificent died there.

[29] Restored, says Milanesi, in 1780, by Gasparo Paoletti, it is now called Villa Mozzi.

[30] Milanesi tells us that Michelozzo only reconstructed buildings which existed already. Matteo Nigetti in 1634 designed a portico for the convent which is now a villa (Ricasoli).

caused to be erected in Jerusalem, for the pilgrims who go to visit the sepulchre of Christ, were furnished by Michelozzo, as was the design for six of the windows in the façade of San Pietro, and which was sent to Rome by Cosimo. These windows were adorned with the arms of the Medici, but three of them have been removed in our own day, and replaced by Pope Paul III, with others bearing the arms of the Farnese family. At a subsequent period, Cosimo was informed that a grievous dearth of water was suffered at Santa Maria degli Angeli, at Assisi,[31] to the great inconvenience of the numerous pilgrims who yearly flock to that place, on the first of August, for the "Absolution": he consequently sent Michelozzo thither, when that master conducted a spring which rises mid-way up the hill, to the wells of Santa Maria, which he then adorned with a rich and beautiful colonnade (loggia); the columns whereof, formed of separate pieces, were decorated with the arms of Cosimo. Within the convent also, and in like manner at the command of Cosimo, Michelozzo executed many useful improvements for the monks; these the magnificent Lorenzo afterwards renewed at a greater cost and with increased beauty of ornament; he likewise caused the wax figure of the Madonna to be made,* which is still to be seen there.[32] Cosimo de' Medici moreover commanded that the road leading from Santa Maria degli Angeli to the city, should be paved with bricks, and before Michelozzo left that neighbourhood, he prepared the design of the old citadel of Perugia. Returning at length to Florence, he built the house of Giovanni Tornabuoni, at the corner of the Tornaquinci,[33] which was in almost all respects similar to the

* This sentence, a mistranslation, is obscure in the original; it means that Lorenzo offered his own waxen image to the Madonna. See the life of Verrocchio.

[31] Much injury was done here by the earthquakes of 1832, which ruined a great part of the work. See Milanesi.

[32] The votive image has perished.

[33] Now the elaborately restored Palazzo Corsi, restored, however, says Milanesi, after the design of the architect Telemaco Bonajuti. A *loggia* de-

palace constructed by the same master for Cosimo, excepting that the façade has not the carved stone-work and cornices of the latter, but is entirely plain.

After the death of Cosimo, by whom Michelozzo had been as much beloved as a dear friend could be, Piero, his son, caused the master to build the marble chapel of the Crucifix,[34] in San Miniato sul Monte, and in the semi-circle of the arch Michelozzo sculptured, in mezzo-rilievo, the Falcon, with the diamond, which was the device of Cosimo, the father of Piero, a work that was truly beautiful. Some time after this was completed, the same Piero de' Medici, proposing to construct the chapel of the Annunciation, in the church of the Servi, entirely of marble, desired to have the opinion of Michelozzo, who was now become old, respecting the matter, not only because he highly estimated the skill of that master, but also because he knew how faithful a friend and servant the latter had been to Cosimo his father. Michelozzo having accordingly said what he thought of the design, the charge of executing it was entrusted to Pagno di Lapo Partigiani, a sculptor of Fiesole, who displayed much ability and foresight in the progress of the work, having many things to provide for in a very small space.[35]

In San Miniato al Tedesco, likewise, Pagno executed certain figures while still very young, in company with his master Donato,[36] and in Lucca he constructed a marble tomb opposite to the chapel of the Sacrament in the church of San Martino for Messer Piero Nocera, who is there pour-

signed by Cigoli, at the end towards the Corsi Palace, was destroyed, but imitated in the *loggia* constructed upon the end which faces San Gaetano.

[34] The Crucifixion is now in the church of the SS. Trinità. The chapel is still *in situ*.

[35] Milanesi shows that Giovanni di Bettino built this chapel about 1461. The same Giovanni is believed by some writers to be the designer of the *façade* of S. Maria Novella, attributed by Vasari to Alberti. Lapo's name was Portigiani, not Partigiani; born in 1406, he died 1470.

[36] At San Miniato al Tedesco, in the church of Sant' Jacopo de Dominicani, there is a monument (1461) to the Florentine physician, Giovanni Chelini, which recalls the manner of Donatello.

trayed after the life.[37] Filarete, in the 25th book of his work, has recorded that Francesco Sforza, fourth duke of Milan, presented a most beautiful palace in that city to the magnificent Cosimo de' Medici,[38] and that the latter, to show the duke how acceptable was the gift, not only adorned it richly with marbles and carvings in wood, but also enlarged it under the direction of Michelozzo, giving it an extent of eighty-seven braccia and a half, whereas it had previously measured eighty-four braccia only. Besides this, he commanded that various pictures should be painted there, more particularly in one of the galleries, where he caused to be represented certain stories from the life of the emperor Trajan.[39] Among the decorations of these works, Cosimo ordered the portrait of Francesco Sforza to be depicted, with that of the Lady Bianca, duchess of Milan, his consort, and those of their children ; the portraits of many other nobles and great personages were added, together with those of eight emperors, and with these Michelozzo placed the likeness of Cosimo himself, done by his own hand. All the rooms, moreover, were decorated by the master with the arms of Cosimo, arranged in various modes and accompanied by his device of the Falcon and Diamond. The paintings here described were all by the hand of Vincenzio di Zoppa, a painter who was held in no small esteem at that time and in that country.[40]

It appears that the money expended by Cosimo in the restorations of this palace was paid by Pigello Portinari,[41]

[37] It is by Matteo Civitali, not by Pagno.

[38] This is now the Palazzo de Vismara, in the Contrada de Bossi (see Milanesi, Vol. II., p. 448). It was given to Cosimo in 1456. Only the courtyard and outer door belonging to the older building remain.

[39] Only a few traces remain of the pictures.

[40] Vincenzio Foppa, not Zoppa, was a famous painter of the Milanese school, and was born in Brescia.

[41] See Luca Beltrami, *La cappella di San Pietro Martire*, *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, V. 267–291, an important article with many reproductions. The author claims that nothing proves Michelozzo to have built the chapel of St. Peter Martyr in the church of Sant' Eustorgio in Milan, attributed by Passigli (1832) to Michelozzo, and since his time by all succeeding annotators. Filarete, *libro*

a Florentine citizen, who then directed the financial and other affairs of Cosimo in Milan and resided in the palace.

There are certain works in marble and bronze by Michelozzo in Genoa, with many others in other places which are known by their manner.[42] But what we have now said of him must suffice ;[43] he died in the 68th year of his age, and was buried in his own tomb in the church of San Marco, in Florence.[44 45 46] His portrait, by the hand of Fra Giovanni,

XXV. *Trattato dell' Architettura*, does not mention it as Michelozzo's work, and evidently does not omit it from professional jealousy, as he elaborately describes the Banco Mediceo (Vismara). Signor Beltrami thinks that the chapel, which was ordered by Pigello Portinari, a Florentine, in 1462, is a combination of Tuscan architecture and local traditions.

[42] After the fire of 1462 Michelozzo and Giorgio of Sebenico partially rebuilt the Palazzo Rettorale of Ragusa. Certain portions are identified as Michelozzo's by Herr Schmarsow. See *Michelozzo in Ragusa*, *Archivio Storico*, VI. 202. Michelozzo contracted also to go to Scio, but whether he went or not has not been learned. Sig. Pietro Gianuizzi has a long and careful study of the work of this collaborator of Michelozzo (Giorgio da Sebenico) in the *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, V. 397–454.

[43] Milanesi states that Michelozzo was elected *provedditore* of the Cupola and Lantern of Sta. Maria del Fiore, August 11, 1446.

[44] Michelozzo is proved by Milanesi to have been buried October 7, 1472, in San Marco, at the age of 76.

[45] Vasari attributes to Donatello, in the Life of that master, the very important tomb of Bartolommeo Aragazzi at Montepulciano, which is now proved to have been ordered of Michelozzo, and executed by him 1427–29. The tomb, which is in the cathedral, was taken to pieces in the eighteenth century, and the different portions are dispersed about the church, while certain parts have completely disappeared. Herr Schmarsow, *Nuovi Studi intorno a Michelozzo*, *L'Arch. Stor.*, VI. 241, claims that the *lunette* over the door of S. Agostino at Montepulciano is a fine work of Michelozzo, and that the whole *façade* of the church is by him. Dr. Bode attributes to Michelozzo a large painted terra-cotta relief of the Madonna in the Berlin Museum.

[46] M. Müntz, in noting Michelozzo as more temperate and more elegant than Brunelleschi, finds also that he could not have been a man of strong character, since, when already fifty years old, he was willing to work under the orders of another ; but at least this readiness to accept guidance fell in a very fortunate time, for Michelozzo, besides possessing talent of a very high order, enjoyed exceptional advantages of association. He was the collaborator at once of the greatest sculptor and the greatest architect of his time. "Working together like brothers," says the inscription upon the houses of the Adimari, Michelozzo with Donatello created masterpieces of sculpture and of architectonic arrangement, and under the influence and in emulation of Brunelleschi, he built palaces which entitled him to at least a third rank

is in the sacristy of Santa Trinita, in the figure of an old man with a cap on his head, representing Nicodemus, who is taking the Saviour from the cross.[47]

among the architects of the early *quattrocento*, for if he is not Brunelleschi, the inspirer of a school, nor Alberti, the Leonardo da Vinci of architecture, he is a man who has created great and lasting works and left his personal impress upon a period of splendid efflorescence and individuality.

[47] The portrait of Michelozzo exists in this picture by Fra Angelico, now in the Academy. It is not the figure of Nicodemus, however, which represents Michelozzo, but another figure wearing a black hood.

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA, PAINTER OF BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO [1]

[Born 1420; died 1492.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—In addition to the general works on Italian art see E. Müntz, *Tour du Monde*, 1883, I. 280; *Kunst-Chronik*, 1878, No. 42; *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1882, p. 33. *Jahrbuch der Klg. Pr. Kunst-Sammlungen*, t. I., 1880, pp. 112–118. E. Harzen, *Archiv für die zeichnenden Kunste*, t. II., 1856, p. 240–241. Bossi, *Del Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci*. Milan, 1810, p. 17. *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Sig. Bossi*, p. 223; *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1868, t. II., p. 134; *Revue Critique*, March 8, 1880. Luigi Giunti, *Piero della Francesca dal Borgo S. Sepolcro*, Arezzo, 1886. E Müntz, *Un nouveau Manuscrit du Traité de Perspective de Piero della Francesca*, *Archives des Arts, première série*, 1890. E. Müntz, *Andrea Mantegna e Piero della Francesca studio sulla predella della pala di San Zeno nel Museo del Louvre ed in quello di Tours* in *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II. 273. A Life of Piero della Francesca, by Signor Giovanni Felice Pichi, published at Borgo San Sepolcro, 1892, is reviewed by Sig. Louis S. Rodriguez (*l'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, VI., 145) as being rather a panegyric than an impartial life.

UNHAPPY, of a truth, are those who, devoting themselves to laborious studies, in the hope of benefiting others and acquiring fame for themselves, are impeded by infirmities or prevented by death from carrying the works they have commenced to their ultimate perfection. For it sometimes happens, that leaving their labours when all but completed, or in a fair way for the attainment of perfection, the credit of all is usurped by the presumption of those who seek to conceal the skin of the ass beneath

[1] Pacioli calls him more correctly Pietro dei Franceschi, and sometimes *Petrus de Franciscis*. He is also called Pietro da Borgo San Sepolcro and Pietro di Benedetto della Francesca, also occasionally Piero Borghese.

the glorious and honoured spoils of the lion. And although time, who is declared to be the father of truth, does sooner or later make the real state of things manifest, yet it is none the less true, that the labourer is, for a certain period, defrauded of the honour which should attach to the works he has performed. Such was the case with Piero della Francesca, of Borgo San Sepolcro, who, being considered an admirable master in the difficulties of drawing rectilinear bodies, as also well versed in arithmetic and geometry, was nevertheless prevented in his mature age, first by blindness, and finally by the close of his life, from bringing to light the various fruits of his meritorious labours, and the many books written by him, which are still preserved in Borgo, his native place.[2]

And the man who should have laboured with all his powers to secure the fame and increase the glory of Piero, from whom he had acquired all that he knew, Fra Luca del Borgo namely,—he, on the contrary, envious and malignant, did his utmost to annihilate the name of Piero, his instructor, and sought to arrogate to himself that honour which was due to his teacher alone, publishing, under his own name, all the laborious works of that good old man, who, in addition to the acquirements named above, was highly distinguished in painting also.[3] Piero was born in Borgo San Sepolcro,—now a city, which it was not at that time,—and was called Della Francesca, from the name of his mother; whom the death of her husband and his father had left a widow before he was born,[4] and because he had been brought up solely by herself, who furthermore assisted him in the attainment of that learning to which his good fortune had destined him. Piero gave considerable attention to mathematics in his early youth; and although he

[2] It has been erroneously stated that some of Piero's MSS. are in the possession of Giuseppe Marini Franceschi, a descendant of the artist. See Milanesi, Vol. II., p. 488.

[3] See note 22.

[4] This is not true; his father lived till 1465.

was induced to become a painter in his fifteenth year, he yet never deserted the study of that science; but, on the contrary, made extraordinary progress therein, as well as in painting. He was much employed by Guidobaldo Feltro the elder, Duke of Urbino,[5] for whom he executed many pictures. These works comprised numerous small figures, and were extremely beautiful, but have, for the most part, been much injured, or altogether destroyed in the many times that this Duchy has been disturbed by wars.[6] Some of the writings of Piero della Francesca, on geometry and the laws of perspective, are nevertheless still preserved there. In knowledge of these sciences Piero was certainly not inferior to the best-informed of his contemporaries; nay, was perhaps equal to any who have followed him down to the present time, as may be shown by the many fine drawings in perspective which fill his works. Among other instances of this kind is a vase, which is treated in such a manner that it can be seen before, behind, and at the sides, while the base and mouth are equally visible; without doubt a most astonishing thing. In this work the smallest minutiæ are attended to with the utmost exactitude, and each turn of every circle is foreshortened with the greatest delicacy. Having by these things acquired considerable eminence in the court of Urbino, Piero desired to make himself known elsewhere; he therefore proceeded to Pesaro and Ancona,[7]

[5] Milanesi thinks Vasari must have meant Guidobaldo, son of Federigo. Guidobaldo became duke in 1482; the *Tractatus de Quinque Corporibus* was dedicated to him and postdates by four years the last picture executed by Piero. M. Müntz thinks that this and the other mathematical works were written during the period when Piero's eyesight had failed him. Piero in his style followed Paolo Uccello rather than Domenico Veniziano, although when a youth he worked with the latter at the decoration of the great chapel of Sant' Egidio (since destroyed) in Florence.

[6] According to Milanesi the only well-authenticated work of Piero della Francesca in Urbino is a Scourging of Christ, and is in the sacristy of the cathedral. It is signed OPVS PETRI DE BURGO SANCTI SEPVLCHRI. The profile portraits of Duke Federigo d' Urbino and Battista Sforza, his wife, painted by Piero, are in the Uffizi. The backs of the panels are also painted with allegorical subjects representing the Duke and Duchess upon triumphal cars.

[7] Piero's works in Pesaro and Ancona have perished. A fresco, not men-

whence, at the moment when he was most busily occupied, he was summoned by the Duke Borso, to Ferrara, where he painted many apartments of the palace. These chambers were afterwards destroyed by Duke Ercole the elder, who rebuilt the palace after the modern taste, one consequence of which was, that there now remains no work in that city from the hand of Piero, if we except a chapel in the church of Saint Agostino, which he painted in fresco, and even that has been grievously injured by the humidity of the place.[8]

From Ferrara Piero della Francesca was invited by pope Nicholas V. to Rome, where he painted two stories in the upper rooms of the palace, in company with Bramante of Milan.[9] But these works also were destroyed in like manner by pope Julius II., to the end that Raffaello da Urbino might paint the imprisonment of St. Peter, with the miracle of the corporale of Bolsena in its place. At the same time there were likewise destroyed certain pictures which had been painted by Bramantino, an excellent master of that time.[10]

But to return to Piero della Francesca: when he had completed his work in Rome he returned to Borgo, where his mother had died, and in the deanery there, he painted two saints in fresco, within the central door, which are considered extremely beautiful.[11] In a convent belonging to the monks of Sant' Agostino, this master painted the picture for the high altar, which was a much esteemed work.[12] He

tioned by Vasari, is still preserved in the church of San Francesco in Rimini. It represents Sigismondo Malatesta kneeling before St. Sigismund, his patron.

[8] The church and the paintings are destroyed.

[9] Probably not the architect Bramante, who was but eleven years old when Nicholas V. died (1455).

[10] Vasari's notice of Bramantino is omitted.

[11] This work is *in situ* in the Pieve di Santa Maria.

[12] An Assumption. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute this picture in S. Agostino to Francesco da Castello, but a contract exists for a picture to be painted by Piero for the brothers of St. Augustine, and is dated October 4, 1454. See Milanesi.

likewise painted a Virgin in fresco[13] for a society, or, as they call themselves, a brotherhood, of the Misericordia; and in the palace of the Conservators he executed a Resurrection, which is held to be the best of his works in that city; nay, of all that he ever performed.[14] At Santa Maria di Loretto, Piero commenced a work in compâny with Domenico of Venice: this was the decoration of the sacristy, but as he left it incomplete from fear of the plague, it was afterwards finished by Luca da Cortona,[15] a disciple of Piero della Francesca, as will be related in the proper place.

Departing from Loretto, and proceeding to Arezzo, Piero there painted the chapel of the Bacci family in the church of San Francesco,[16] the chapel is that near the high altar, and

[13] Milanesi states that this picture of the Virgin, now in the little church of the hospital, is painted on a panel, while Crowe and Cavalcaselle mention it as a fresco. The *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, V. 297, says that the architect Del Moro has lately made a reconstruction of the large *Ancona* of Piero della Francesca in the Ospedale della Madonna dell' Ausilio at Borgo San Sepolcro.

[14] Executed in 1445, it is in the palace of the Conservators, now *Monte di Pietà* of Borgo San Sepolcro. Symonds considers it "by far the grandest, most poetic, and most awe-inspiring picture of the Resurrection." M. Müntz, *l'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, II. 273, shows that this fresco inspired the Resurrection by Mantegna (a *predella* panel at Tours, taken from the San Zeno Madonna of Verona), and that the latter work, in spite of the vastly superior skill shown, is inferior in grandeur to the conception of the Umbrian master.

[15] The works which now adorn the sacristy are by Luca Signorelli.

[16] This work was executed in 1450. If the Resurrection at Borgo San Sepolcro is the greatest, the series of paintings at Arezzo (painted about 1450 in the church of San Francesco) is the most considerable work of Piero. The subjects are: The Stories of Adam and Eve; the Queen of Sheba Visiting Solomon; the Triumph of Christianity; the Dream of Constantine; the Finding of the True Cross; the Raising of the Cross before Jerusalem; the Annunciation; the Prophets; the Victory of Heraclius over the Persians. The frescoes of San Francesco are very remarkable works, which call for careful consideration. M. Müntz has described them at once with enthusiasm and discrimination (*Le Tour du Monde*, 1883, I. 280–284), has praised Piero's observation, his science, his narrative capacity, his style, his clear color and distribution of light, has blamed his neglect of the search for beauty and a certain commonness sometimes found in his types. He even thinks that the Raising of the Cross before Jerusalem wholly lacks solemnity. It is true that the figures, with their huge head-dresses, stand upon the verge of the grotesque; but, as Mr. Ruskin has said, there is a noble and an ignoble grotesque. Piero's figures are so imperturbably, so intensely grave, that this rigid and

the work was executed for Luigi Bacci, a citizen of Arezzo. The ceiling of the chapel had already been commenced by Lorenzo di Bicci; the subject represented is the History of the Cross, from the moment when, at the burial of Adam by his sons, the seed of the tree from which the wood of the cross was afterwards taken, was placed beneath the tongue of the patriarch by their forethought, to the time when the exaltation of the cross itself was solemnized by the Emperor Heraclius, who, supporting it on his shoulders and walking barefoot, thus enters with it into Jerusalem. In this work are many admirable qualities, and various merits in the attitudes, all of which are worthy of consideration. Among other things, the vestments worn by the female attendants of the Queen of Sheba will be found to deserve praise; they are treated in a pleasing manner, which was then new. There are, besides, many portraits from life which exhibit great animation, with a range of Corinthian columns, the proportions of which are absolutely perfect; and a peasant, who, leaning with his hands on his spade, stands listening to the discourse made by St. Helena, while the three crosses are in process of being disinterred, with an attention which is expressed so perfectly that it would not be possible to improve it. The dead body which is restored to life at the touch of the cross is also very well executed, and the joy felt by St. Helena is equally well expressed, as is the arrangement of the bystanders, who prostrate themselves in adoration. But, superior to all besides, whether for conception or execution, is the represen-

somewhat staring gravity becomes impressive. The painter's simplicity in the distribution of his masses, his clear, flat, forceful decorative planes of color, are aided by a really noble comprehension of landscape composition until the work attains an effect which is quite independent of the grotesquely naturalistic head-dresses of some of his personages. His pictures are fine in spite of, rather than by aid of, his costumes (saving only when he has ample draperies to deal with), and his Umbrian or Florentine women who follow Sheba have little of beauty, but much of style. As for his Dream of Constantine, Piero has shown, in his bold lighting of figures and background, Raphael's daring, and almost Raphael's skill, without any of the latter's sense of beauty (compare the fresco of Arezzo with the Liberation of Peter from Prison, in Rome).

tation of Night, as given by this master : in this picture is an angel ; the figure, admirably foreshortened, is descending with the head downwards, bearing the insignia of Victory to Constantine, who is sleeping in his pavilion, watched by a chamberlain, and guarded by armed men, whose forms are obscurely seen in the darkness. These figures, with the tent, and all within a certain distance, are illumined by the light which proceeds from the angel himself, and which is managed with the utmost care and judgment. In this work, Piero della Francesca has shown the importance of copying things as they really are, and of taking nature and reality for the models ; this he has done excellently well, and has thereby given later artists the opportunity of profiting by his example, and in doing so to arrive at the high position which they have attained in our day. In the same work is a battle, in which fear, animosity, force, dexterity, and other passions and qualities exhibited by the combatants, are expressed with extraordinary truthfulness. The occurrences of the struggle are equally well represented, and fearful scenes of carnage ; the wounded, the dying, and the dead, are depicted with great animation. Piero has likewise found means to imitate in this fresco, the glittering of the arms for which he well merits praise ; and no less for a group of horses in the flight and submersion of Maxentius, these animals being foreshortened with such extraordinary skill, that when the time in which they were executed is considered, we may truly declare them to be excellent and beautiful beyond measure. A figure, partly nude, partly clothed in Saracenic vestments, and seated on a meagre horse, is also in this work, and displays the knowledge which Piero della Francesca possessed of anatomy, a science but imperfectly understood in his time. For all these things, the artist well deserved the large rewards bestowed on him by Luigi Bacci, whose portrait, with those of Carlo and others of his brothers, he has depicted in the figures present at the decapitation of a king, which makes part of the story. The portraits of other Aretine citizens, distin-

guished as men of letters, accompany those of Luigi and his brothers, by whom Piero was highly esteemed, as he was indeed by the whole city, which he had so richly adorned and ennobled by his works.

In the episcopal church of Arezzo, Piero della Francesca executed a Santa Maria Maddalena in fresco, beside the door of the sacristy ; and for the brotherhood of the Nunzata,* he painted the banner which they carry in procession.[17] He likewise depicted San Donato in episcopal robes with figures of children, on a seat drawn in perspective at the head of the cloister belonging to Santa Maria delle Grazie, and at San Bernardo he executed a figure of San Vincenzio, in a high niche of the wall, for the monks of Monte Oliveto, which is much esteemed by artists. In a chapel at Sargiano, a residence of the Frati Zoccolanti † situated outside of Arezzo, Piero executed a figure of Christ praying by night in the garden, which is very beautiful.[18]

In Perugia, also, this master produced many works which are still to be seen in that city. Among others, a picture[19] in "tempera," for the church of the nuns of Sant' Antonio of Padua, this represents the Virgin with the Child on her lap ; she is accompanied by San Francesco, Sant' Elizabetta, San Giovanni Battista, and Sant' Antonio of Padua. Above these figures is a most beautiful Annunciation, with an angel which seems in truth to have descended from heaven ; and, what is more, a range of columns diminishing

* Nunziata.

† The *Zoccolanti* were the barefooted Franciscan friars, so called from their *zoccoli*, or wooden-soled sandals.

[17] The fresco is *in situ ;* the banner is lost.

[18] This picture is destroyed.

[19] In the Pinacoteca of Perugia. Near Sinigaglia, in the suppressed convent of S. Maria delle Grazie, there is a very carefully finished little picture attributed to Fra Carnevale, which is believed by some critics (*Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, V. 362) to be a good specimen of Piero della Francesca. This is, however, a disputed point, and a large picture in the Brera gallery, containing a kneeling figure of Duke Federigo d'Urbino, is also a subject for the same kind of controversy. See Dr. Frizzoni reviewing Dr. Bode's edition of the Cicerone, *Arch. Stor.*, I., 292.

in perspective, which is indeed beautiful. In the predella are representations in small figures, depicting St. Anthony restoring a boy to life; St. Elizabeth saving a child who has fallen into a well, and St. Francis receiving the stigmata.[20] At Ancona, likewise, on the altar of St. Joseph, in the church of San Ciriaco, Piero della Francesca depicted the espousals of our Lady in a story of extraordinary beauty.[21]

This master was exceedingly zealous in the study of arts. As I have said, he devoted much attention to perspective, and possessed considerable knowledge of Euclid, inasmuch that he understood all the most important properties of rectilinear bodies better than any other geometrician; and the most useful elucidations of these matters which we possess, are from his hand: for the monk of St. Francis, Maestro Luca del Borgo, whose works treat of regular geometrical bodies, was his disciple, and when Piero became old, and finally died, after having written many books, the above-named Maestro Luca, attributing them to himself, caused the works of his master to be printed as his own, they having fallen into his hands on the death of Piero.[22]

[20] Believed to be the triptych in the Pinaccteca of Perugia.

[21] According to Milanesi this was probably a wall-painting and has perished.

[22] Pacioli has been defended against the imputation of Vasari by Giuseppe Bossi, Padre Luigi Pungileone, and Milanesi. According to Drs. Jordan and Winterberg, who have studied the MS. carefully, the facts of the case seem to be: Luca Pacioli, who afterwards became a famous mathematician, was a pupil of Piero della Francesca; Piero's MS. contained no original contributions, but was simply a series of practical applications based on Euclid's propositions; the work referred to by Vasari was merely an Italian translation by Pacioli of the Latin. M. Müntz asserts, on the contrary, that study of the original MS., *Tractatus de Quinque corporibus*, found by Dr. Jordan, proves that Vasari was right in accusing Pacioli of plagiarism. M. Müntz has recently discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale an old copy of Pietro's treatise on perspective under the title, *Petrus pictor Burgensis de perspectiva*. This copy, made in the sixteenth century, contains reproductions of the original drawings. Another copy of the same work has also been found in the library of Bordeaux by M. Ravaisson. The MS. of the *De Prospectiva pingendi* belongs to the Saibanti collection in Verona; an Italian translation was discovered by Herr Harzen in the Ambrosian library, Milan, under the name *Pietro pittore di Bruges*. Another copy, which was once the property of the Duke of Urbino, is now in the Vatican.

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It was the custom of Piero della Francesca to form figures in clay whereon he afterwards arranged draperies of soft textures richly folded, from which he then drew, using them as his models.

The works of Piero Borghese were executed about the year 1458. At the age of sixty he was attacked by a catarrh, in consequence of which he became blind, and thus lived till he had attained his eighty-sixth year.[23] He left considerable property among which were certain houses in Borgo, which he had himself built, but which were burnt and destroyed in the strife of factions during the year 1536.[24] He was honourably interred by his fellow citizens in the principal church, which originally belonged to the monks of Camaldoli, but is now the episcopate.[25] His books, which

[23] The story of his blindness is doubtful. He was working in 1478, and his will, made in 1487, asserts him to have been *sanus mente intellectu et corpore.* He died October 12, 1492, and was buried in the abbey (now cathedral) of Borgo San Sepolcro. His name upon the burial records is *Maestro Pietro di Benedetto de' Franceschi.* See Milanesi.

[24] Signor Giuseppe Marini Franceschi of Borgo San Sepolcro, a descendant of Piero, possesses what is considered to be a copy from an original portrait of Piero by himself.

[25] Piero della Francesca is an Umbrian painter, but of the Tusco-Umbrian branch of art, that is to say, coming from the portion of Umbria which is turned toward Tuscany, and which, being affected by Florentine influence more than was the country about Assisi, gave to Italian painting Signorelli and Piero Borghese, instead of Perugino and Gentile of Fabriano. Piero, then, was a naturalist studying anatomy as ardently as Pollajuolo, perspective as earnestly as Uccello, but he was still Umbrian enough never to thoroughly adopt the ugly side of these painters' naturalism, and he borrowed from Andrea dal Castagno not his grimaces, but rather his proud and defiant attitudes. To those who seek for grace first of all in a work of art, and especially to those who love the *précieux* quality in a painting, Piero's stiff directness will be somewhat repellent; but to those who care most for largeness of conception and breadth of treatment, his works will become more admirable the more they are studied, for although he is first of all an observer, he observes largely and omits with judgment and taste. Piero's personages are always grave, having somewhat of woodenness and also somewhat of grandeur. He worked in broad, simple, clear planes of color, which are eminently decorative, and in the Dream of Constantine his science of *chiaroscuro* points forward to Raphael's Deliverance of St. Peter, in the Vatican *stanze.* His love of the quaint fifteenth-century costumes, with their stiffness and parti-colored patterns, exaggerates the archaic character of some of his figures, but

are for the most part in the library of Frederick II., duke of Urbino, are of so much value, that they have deservedly obtained for him the name of the first geometrician of his time.

they stand firmly upon their feet, are studied in the round straight from nature and his poses are at times quite noble. Among the ultra-naturalists of his time he most completely attained grandeur of style. Herr Robert Vischer claims that he marks a turning-point in the history of art, and that Luca Signorelli was "providentially thrown in his way as his allotted spiritual heir."

FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE, PAINTER OF THE ORDER OF PREACHING FRIARS[1]

[Born 1387; died 1455.]

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FRA GIOVANNI ANGELICO DA FIESOLE, who, while in the world, was called Guido,[2] having been no less eminent as a painter and miniaturist than ex-

[1] Certain critics have believed that this life was dictated to Vasari by the monk Don Silvio Razzi, but Milanesi demonstrates the falseness of this theory. Padre Marchese suggests that the biographer may have obtained the facts in the life of Fra Angelico from Fra Eustachio, a miniature-painter of San Marco, who gave the Aretine author valuable assistance in his first edition. He also cites the various monastic records and annals to which Vasari might have had access. See V. Marchese, Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of the order of St. Dominic, English edition, I., pp. 161, 162.

[2] Fra Angelico was born at Vicchio, not far from Vespignano, the reputed birthplace of Giotto. His real name was Guido di Pietro da Mugello. As a monk he was known as Frate Giovanni da Fiesole. After his death and beatification he was often called *Il Beato*, and still more generally Fra Angelico. Mugello is simply the name of a province, and those who give Angelico a cognomen such as de' Tossini, de' Montorsoli, de' Petri are unsupported by documentary evidence.

cellent as a churchman, deserves to be held in honourable remembrance for both these causes. This master might have lived in the world with the utmost ease and comfort, since, in addition to what he originally possessed, he might have gained whatever he desired by the exercise of the arts with which, while still very young, he was perfectly well acquainted. But he chose nevertheless, in the hope of ensuring the peace and quiet of his life, and of promoting the salvation of his soul, to enter the order of the preaching friars;[3] for although it is certain, that we may serve God in all conditions, yet to some it appears, that they can more effectually secure their salvation in the cloister than in the world; and this purpose is doubtless successful, as regards the man of good and upright purpose, but the contrary as certainly happens to him who becomes a monk from less worthy motives, and who is sure to render himself truly miserable.

There are certain choral books from the hand of Fra Giovanni in his convent of San Marco at Florence, of which the miniatures are such that no words could do justice to their beauty. Similar to these are others, which he left in San Domenico, at Fiesole, and which are executed with inexpressible care and patience: it is true that he was assisted in these works by an elder brother, who was also a miniaturist, and tolerably well versed in painting.[4]

[3] Fra Giovanni entered the Dominican order as a novice in 1408, and passed his noviciate in Cortona; he then returned to Fiesole, from whence the whole brotherhood of the convent went in 1409 to Foligno, in Umbria, where they remained until 1418. From 1418 to 1436 he stayed in Fiesole. From 1436 till 1445 he was in Florence, and painted in the monastery of San Marco. About the year 1445 he was ordered to Rome by Pope Eugenius IV., and remained there most of the time until his death in 1455. The chronicle of S. Domenico of Fiesole reads: "1407, Brother Joannes Petri de Mugello of Vicchio, who excelled as a painter, and adorned many tables and walls in divers places, accepted the habit of a clerk in this convent, . . . and the following year professed." On a picture at Cortona he signs himself *Frater Johannes.*

[4] Fra Benedetto, his younger brother, was not a painter, but a *Scriptorius.* He was so much esteemed for his virtues by Bishop Antonino that he was made sub-prior of San Marco for many years; he died in 1448 as prior of San Domenico of Fiesole. Zanobi di Benedetto Strozzi illuminated the figures, and Fi-

One of the first paintings executed by this good father [5] was a picture on panel for the Carthusian monastery in Florence, where it was placed in the principal chapel, which belonged to the cardinal Acciaiuoli: the subject is a Virgin with the Child in her arms, and with angels at her feet; the latter are sounding musical instruments and singing, and are exceedingly beautiful: on one side of the Virgin are San Lorenzo, with Santa Maria Maddalena; on the other are San Zanobi, with San Benedetto; and on the predella are stories from the lives of those saints, the figures of which are very small, and are executed with infinite care. In the same chapel are two other pictures by the same master, one representing the Coronation of the Virgin; and in the other are the Madonna, with two saints in ultra-marine blue, of great beauty.[6] In the nave of Santa Maria Novella, and beside the door, which is opposite to the choir, Fra Giovanni afterwards painted a fresco, wherein he represented San Domenico, Santa Caterina da Siena, and St. Peter the martyr. In the chapel of the Coronation of our Lady, which is in the same part of the church, he likewise painted certain small historical pictures; and on the doors which

lippo di Matteo Torelli did the ornamentation, of the choral books of San Marco. The books of San Domenico were, some of them at least, illuminated by a Ser Benedetto, a priest of Fiesole. See Milanesi's *Commentario*. A fine collection of illuminated choir books is still shown in San Marco, though many were lost after the suppression of the convents by the French.

[5] We do not know definitely how or where Fra Angelico first studied, but it is probable that he had learnt the rudiments of his art before entering the religious order. Baldinucci, Bottari, and Rosini assert that he was the pupil of Gherardo Starnina. He was influenced by both Orgagna and Masolino, and according to Lord Lindsay, also by Antonio Veneziano and Spinello. In the life of Masaccio, Vasari says that the study of the works of that artist was the source of Fra Angelico's excellence in painting. But the latter was born in 1387, while Masaccio was born in 1401, so that though Fra Angelico undoubtedly profited, in later life, by the work of Masaccio, the latter painter could not have influenced him in his earlier years.

[6] These have all disappeared. Sigg. Cavalcaselle e Crowe, *Storia della Pittura*, etc., II., p. 363, say that his first pictures were the frescoes (now destroyed) in the convent of San Domenico at Cortona. Several youthful works of Angelico were carried from San Domenico to the Gesù, where they still are.

close the old organ he painted an Annunciation on cloth, which is now in the convent, opposite to the door of the lower dormitory, and between the two cloisters.[7]

Fra Giovanni was so greatly beloved for his admirable qualities by Cosimo de' Medici, that the latter had no sooner completed the church and convent of San Marco,[8] than he caused the good father to paint the whole story of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ on one of the walls of the chapter-house. In this work are figures of all those saints who have been heads and founders of religious bodies, mourning and bewailing at the foot of the cross on one side, and on the other, St. Mark the Evangelist beside the mother of the Son of God, who has fainted at sight of the crucified Saviour. Around the Virgin are the Maries, who are sorrowing with and supporting her; they are accompanied by the saints, Cosimo and Damiano. It is said that in the figure of San Cosimo, Fra Giovanni depicted his friend Nanni d'Antonio di Banco, the sculptor, from the life. Beneath this work, in a frieze over the back of the seats, the master executed a figure of San Domenico standing at the foot of a tree, on the branches of which are medallions, wherein are all the popes, cardinals, bishops, saints, and masters in theology who had belonged to Fra Giovanni's order of the Preaching Friars, down to his own day. In this work the brethren of his order assisted him by procuring portraits of these various personages from different places, by which means he was enabled to execute many likenesses from nature. These are, San Domenico in the centre, who is grasping the branches of the tree; Pope Innocent V.; a Frenchman;* the Beato Ugone, first cardinal of that order; the Beato Paolo the patriarch, a Florentine; Sant' Antonino, a Florentine; Bishop Giordano, a German, and the second general of the order; the Beato Niccolo; the Beato Remi-

* This sentence should read: The French pope, Innocent V.

[7] All of the pictures mentioned as being in Santa Maria Novella have perished.

[8] See the life of Michelozzo, notes 17 to 24, inclusive.

gio, a Florentine ; and the martyr Boninsegno, a Florentine ; all these are on the right hand. On the left are Benedict XI.,[9] of Treviso ; Giandominico, a Florentine cardinal ; Pietro da Palude, patriarch of Jerusalem ; the German Alberto Magno ; the Beato Raimondo, of Catalonia, third general of the order ; the Beato Chiaro, a Florentine, and Provincial of Rome ; San Vincenzio di Valenza ; and the Beato Bernardo, a Florentine ; all these heads are truly graceful and very beautiful.[10] In the first cloister, Fra Giovanni then painted many admirable figures in fresco over certain lunettes, with a crucifix, at the foot of which stands San Domenico, which is greatly esteemed ; and in the dormitory, beside many other things in the cells and on the walls, he executed a story from the New Testament which is beautiful beyond the power of words to describe.[11]

But exquisite and admirable above all is the picture of the

[9] Benedict II., rather.

[10] According to Marchese it could not have been executed before 1441. For so early an epoch of Italian painting the heads in this Crucifixion are astonishingly skilful in draughtsmanship. They are subtly characterized, intelligently modelled, and show a close study of nature, therein differing widely from Angelico's treatment of the faces of angels and of women. Here we feel that we are in the presence of a master capable of preparing his pupil, Benozzo Gozzoli, to draw the careful and wonderfully individual heads in the St. Augustine cycle of frescoes at San Gimignano. On the whole this Crucifixion may divide with his fresco at Orvieto the honor of being Angelico's masterpiece. The former has been retouched at various times, the color of the background changed, and the inscriptions at the sides of some of the figures have been altered. Thus Angelico did not paint Antonino as a saint, since he was only a bishop when the picture was painted. The halo and inscription were undoubtedly given to this figure by later restorers, who desired to emphasize and point out the sanctification of this famous member of their order. M. Lafenestre says that in this fresco Fra Angelico has given us the measure of his spiritual capacity combined with an unaccustomed vigor of style, that the figures ranged on either side of the crucified Christ present with extraordinary intensity of emotion all the aspirations of Giotto and his followers toward an ideal of expression. Every shade of ecstasy, of grief, of compassion, which the death of the Saviour could inspire in the faithful is rendered with the same fidelity ; "religious art could go no further."

[11] These frescoes are nearly all in existence in the various cells and rooms and most of them are well preserved. The convent is a whole gallery of the works of Fra Angelico.

High Altar in that church; for besides that the Madonna in this painting awakens devotional feeling in all who regard her, by the pure simplicity of her expression; and that the saints surrounding her have a similar character;[12] the predella, in which are stories of the martyrdom of San Cosimo, San Damiano, and others, is so perfectly finished, that one cannot imagine it possible for any thing to be executed with greater care, nor can figures more delicate, or more judiciously arranged, be conceived.[13]

At San Domenico di Fiesole Fra Giovanni likewise painted the picture of the High Altar; but this—perhaps because it appeared to have received injury—has been retouched by other masters, and much deteriorated. The Predella and the Ciborium are, fortunately, much better preserved; and the many small figures which are seen there, surrounded by a celestial glory, are so beautiful, that they do truly seem to belong to paradise; nor can he who approaches them be ever weary of regarding their beauty.[14] In a chapel of the same church is a picture from the same hand, representing our Lady receiving the annunciation from the angel Gabriel, with a countenance, which is seen in profile, so devout, so delicate, and so perfectly executed, that the beholder can scarcely believe it to be by the hand of man, but would rather suppose it to have been delineated in Paradise. In the landscape forming the background are seen Adam and Eve, by whom it was made needful that the Virgin should give birth to the Redeemer.[15] In the predella are likewise

[12] Which was painted in 1438, and is now in the Academy; it has been injured by washing and clumsy retouching. Two very similar subjects are in the same hall of the Academy, one from the convent of Dominican nuns called Convento di Annalena, one from the convent of the Bosco de' Frati, near Florence.

[13] Milanesi, after suggesting that these panels have been combined with a larger one by Lorenzo Monaco into a *predella*, which is in the Cappella de' Pittori, Cloister of the Annunziata, eventually inclines to think that they belonged to a set of panels, two of which are now in the Florentine Academy, four in Munich, and one in a private collection.

[14] Now in the choir; it was restored by Lorenzo di Credi. The three panels of the *gradino* have been sold.

[15] Said to have been sold in 1611 to the Duke Mario Farnese, and by him re-

certain stories, the small figures of which are extremely beautiful.

But superior to all the other works of Fra Giovanni, and one in which he surpassed himself, is a picture in the same church, near the door on the left hand of the entrance: in this work he proves the high quality of his powers as well as the profound intelligence he possessed of the art which he practised. The subject is the Coronation of the Virgin by Jesus Christ: the principal figures are surrounded by a choir of angels, among whom are vast numbers of saints and holy personages, male and female. These figures are so numerous, so well executed, in attitudes so varied, and with expressions of the head so richly diversified, that one feels infinite pleasure and delight in regarding them. Nay, one is convinced that those blessed spirits can look no otherwise in heaven itself, or, to speak under correction, could not, if they had forms, appear otherwise; for all the saints, male and female, assembled here, have not only life and expression, most delicately and truly rendered, but the colouring also of the whole work would seem to have been given by the hand of a saint, or of an angel like themselves. It is not without most sufficient reason therefore, that this excellent ecclesiastic is always called Frate Giovanni Angelico. The stories from the life of our Lady and of San Domenico which adorn the predella, moreover, are in the same divine manner, and I, for myself, can affirm with truth, that I never see this work but it appears something anew, nor can I ever satisfy myself with the sight of it, or have enough of beholding it.[16]

In the chapel of the Nunziata at Florence, which Piero di Cosimo de' Medici caused to be constructed, Fra Giovanni

sold in 1612 to the Duke of Lerma for a church of Valladolid. See Padre Marchese.

[16] Now in the Louvre. There still remain two pictures by Angelico in the convent: a Crucifixion in the old refectory and a Madonna and Child, with saints, in the old chapter-house. The Coronation of the Virgin and the *predella* panels were engraved and published at Paris, with text by A. W. von Schlegel, in 1817.

painted the doors of the armory or press,[17] wherein the silver utensils for the service of the altar are deposited, the figures are made and executed with much care. He painted besides so many pictures which are now in the dwellings of different Florentine citizens, that I remain sometimes in astonishment, and am at a loss to comprehend how one man could so perfectly execute all that he has performed, even though he did labour many years.[18] The very reverend Don Vincenzio Borghini, superintendent of the Innocenti, is in possession of a small picture of the Virgin by the hand of this father, which is beautiful;[19] and Bartolommeo Gondi, as zealous an amateur of these arts as any gentleman that I know, has a large picture, a small one, and a crucifix, all by the same hand.[20] The paintings in the arch over the door of San Domenico[21] are likewise by Fra Giovanni, and in Santa Trinita there is a picture in the sacristy, representing a deposition from the cross, to which he devoted so much care that it may be numbered among the best of his works.[22]

In San Francesco, without the gate of San Miniato, Fra Giovanni painted an Annunciation,[23] and in Santa Maria

[17] This series is of great interest from the largeness of conception which goes hand in hand with the diminutiveness of the panels. There are thirty-five little pictures from the life of Christ; they are now in the Florentine Academy.

[18] Milanesi adds to these remarks the statement that the greater part of Fra Angelico's works are not even mentioned by Vasari. He cites among others those in the *oratorio* of Sant' Ansano at Fiesole, two in the gallery of Turin, and the picture which, taken from the church of San Girolamo, near Fiesole, is now in the Louvre, and is not considered (by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle) to be an authentic Fra Angelico. The latter authors, in their Italian edition of the History of Painting in Italy, the *Storia della Pittura*, II., pp. 353–422, give a particularly copious list of Angelico's works.

[19] This work has perished.

[20] Apparently these works have perished.

[21] No longer to be seen.

[22] This is considered to be one of Angelico's best works. Painted in 1445, it is now in the Florentine Academy; the *lunettes* in the tops of the three Gothic arches are by Lorenzo Monaco. The portrait of Michelozzo is in this picture. See note at the end of life of the latter, and Milanesi, II., p. 450, note 3.

[23] This has disappeared.

Novella, in addition to the works from his hand already enumerated, are certain stories, decorating various reliquaries[24] which it is the custom to place on the altar in high solemnities,* with others which are used in the Easter ceremonies.[25]

In the abbey of the same city (Florence), this master painted the figure of San Benedetto, in the act of commanding silence.[26] For the Guild of Joiners,† he executed a picture ‡ [27] which is preserved in the house of their Guild,[28] and in Cortona he painted a small arch over the door of the church which belongs to his order, as also the picture of the high altar.[29]

* The translator has omitted a sentence here, viz.: "He painted small pictures on the paschal taper" (*dipinse di storie piccole il cereo pasquale*). Vasari refers to the huge painted and gilded wax candles which were, and still are, placed by the altar at Easter in Italy and Spain, and which were generally decorated in the convents.

† Not joiners (*legnaiuoli*), but linen-drapers (*linajuoli*).

‡ The text in the original is *tavola*, panel, rather than picture; in this case it was a tabernacle.

[24] According to Padre Marchese cited by Milanesi, he painted four of the reliquaries. Three of these still exist in Santa Maria Novella.

[25] The stories and the paschal taper have very naturally disappeared.

[26] This is a half-length figure, badly damaged, but still existing above a walled-up door in the small cloister.

[27] Marchese states that Fra Angelico never inscribed his pictures with dates, and though it is not very difficult to discriminate between the works of the early and mature periods of most artists, it is in the case of Fra Angelico, whose works are characterized by such uniformity that it is hard to determine which were painted first and which were painted last.

[28] Milanesi, citing Baldinucci and other critics, says that the commission for this picture was given July 11, 1433. The model for the tabernacle was ordered of Ghiberti, and was executed in wood (1432) by Jacopo, called Papero di Piero. Fra Angelico painted upon it a Madonna and Child, larger than life, with twelve small angels in the borders of the tabernacle; on the backs of the shutters (*sportelli*) were the figures of St. Peter and Saint Mark, and on the interiors of the same were Saint John Baptist, and Saint Mark repeated a second time (as he was the patron saint of the guild). This famous picture, with its often-copied *angioletti*, has been in the Uffizi since 1777.

[29] Cortona has two pictures and two *predelle* by Angelico: an Annunciation in the *Compagnia di Gesù* and a Madonna Enthroned, with saints and angels, in the first chapel to the left of the high altar in San Domenico. As for the great picture of the high altar, attributed to Fra Angelico, Milanesi proves it to be by Lorenzo di Niccolo. See his commentary on Fra Angelico.

In Orvieto,[30] Fra Giovanni began to paint certain prophets in the Cathedral; on the ceiling of the chapel of our Lady, these were afterwards finished by Luca da Cortona. For the Brotherhood of the Temple in Florence, he painted a picture representing the Dead Christ,[31] and in the church of the Monks of the Angeli,[32] he executed a Paradiso and Inferno, the figures of both which are small. Fra Giovanni proved the rectitude of his judgment in this work, having made the countenances of the blessed beautiful and full of a celestial gladness; but the condemned, those destined to the pains of hell, he has depicted in various attitudes of sorrow, and bearing the impress and consciousness of their misdeeds and wretchedness on their faces: the blessed are seen to enter the gate of Paradise in triumphal dance, the condemned are dragged away to eternal punishment in hell, by the hands of demons. This work is in the church above-mentioned, on the right hand, as you approach the high altar, near where the priest is wont to sit while the Mass is sung. For the Nuns of St. Peter the Martyr, who now occupy the monastery of San Felice in Piazza, which formerly belonged to the Order of Camaldoli, Fra Giovanni painted a picture wherein are represented the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. Dominick, St. Thomas, and St. Peter the Martyr, with many small figures.[33] In

[30] During his stay in Rome Angelico contracted to go to Orvieto each year during the hot malarial months of June, July, August, September, and to work there on the cathedral. He went in 1447, and painted the prophets on the vaulting of the chapel called "of the Madonna of San Brizio," which was afterward decorated throughout by Signorelli. Angelico did not return to Orvieto, perhaps on account of the involved finances of the cathedral board. In spite of his short stay he left in this group of prophets and saints one of the finest works of the fifteenth century. Benozzo Gozzoli was Angelico's assistant here. The fresco is in the *lunette* over the high altar and contains sixteen prophets, with the inscription, "*Prophetarum laudabilis numerus.*"

[31] Now in the Florentine Academy.

[32] In the Academy of Fine Arts, Florence.

[33] In the Pitti Gallery. It is much repainted, and some critics assert that it is only a copy from a work of Fra Angelico. Sigg. Cavalcaselle e Crowe, *Storia della Pittura,* II., 393–401, mention, among other works of Angelico, a Last

the centre aisle of Santa Maria Nuova,[34] is also to be seen a picture by the hand of this master.

These many and various labours having rendered the name of Fra Giovanni illustrious throughout all Italy, he was invited to Rome by Pope Nicholas V.,[35] who caused him to adorn the chapel of the palace, where the pontiff is accustomed to hear mass, with a Deposition from the Cross, and with certain events from the life of San Lorenzo, which are admirable.[36] The Pope further appointed him to ex-

Judgment, in the Dudley collection of London, and one in the Corsini gallery, Rome; Two Angels Kneeling (in Turin); a Madonna Enthroned, with Saints (in Parma); a Madonna, with Angels (Frankfort); St. Ambrose Refusing to admit Theodosius within his Church Doors (Antwerp), and four works in Berlin: a Madonna with Saints, a Meeting of St. Dominick and St. Francis, an Apparition of St. Francis to the Monks of Arles, and a Last Judgment.

[34] The famous small picture of the Coronation, now in the Uffizi. This picture, like many others of Fra Angelico, has in the costumes violent vermilions and ultramarines. Angelico thought, say some writers, that only the purest of colors were good enough for the elect. He may have thought all this, and very possibly did, but he also used sound technical reasoning and knew that upon the raised gold patterns of his backgrounds the purest colors would tell most strongly, and furthermore, that clear vermilions and unadulterated ultramarines which would be raw in a strong light, would become toned and admirable in the half-darkness of a church.

[35] Pope Eugenius IV., not Nicholas V., invited Fra Angelico to Rome, where he commenced, March 13, 1447, to fresco a chapel in St. Peter's, since destroyed. Thomas of Sarzana, who became Pope Nicholas V. on March 6, 1447, a week before Angelico began his work, confirmed the appointment by Eugenius of "Fra Giovanni di Pietro," with a salary which for the epoch was an enormous one—two hundred gold ducats—since Bernardo Rosellino, architect-in-chief of the works of Saint Peter, received only one hundred and eighty. See M. Müntz, *Les Primitifs.*

[36] "The chapel of San Lorenzo" was the oratory, and indeed the "studio," the private working-room of the pope, and was a real art sanctuary. Angelico's decorations consisted of scenes from the lives of St. Stephen in the upper series, and from that of St. Lawrence in the lower tier of frescoes, while above were the Evangelists and Doctors of the church. The scenes from the lives of Stephen and Lawrence in this chapel mark Fra Angelico's culminating point, and do not suffer greatly even in their close juxtaposition with the *stanze* of Raphael. They have the angelic monk's deep feeling for his subject, and at the same time are closely and skilfully drawn, equalling his Orvieto fresco in science (though not in feeling for grandeur), and showing us the artist as a man pressing always forward in his art to the very end

ecute the miniatures of several books, which are also extremely beautiful.[37] In the church of the Minerva Fra Giovanni executed the picture of the High Altar [38] and an Annunciation, which is now placed against the wall beside the principal chapel. For the same pontiff, Fra Giovanni decorated the chapel of the sacrament in the palace, which chapel was afterwards destroyed by Pope Paul III., who conducted the staircase through it.[39] In this work, which was an excellent one, Fra Giovanni had painted stories in fresco from the life of Christ, in his own admirable manner, and had introduced many portraits of eminent persons then living. These portraits would most probably have been lost to us, had not Paul Jovius caused the following among them to be reserved for his museum : Pope Nicholas V., the Emperor Frederick, who had at that time arrived in Italy ; Frate Antonino, who afterwards became archbishop of Florence, Biondo da Forli, and Ferdinand of Arragon.

And now, Fra Giovanni, appearing to the Pope to be, as he really was, a person of most holy life, gentle and modest, the Pontiff, on the archbishopric becoming vacant, judged Fra Giovanni to be worthy of that preferment ; but the Frate, hearing this, entreated his Holiness to provide himself with some other person, since he did not feel capable of ruling men.[40] He added, that among the brethren of his order, was a man well skilled in the art of governing others,

of his life. Here he even made use of classic detail, for so strong was the influence of the revival of antiquity that it forced the door of the convent, and the painter-saint himself threw a grain of incense on the altar of Paganism.

[37] No existing illuminated books are known to be by Fra Angelico.

[38] Milanesi thinks that possibly a painting by Angelico may be hidden behind the altar-piece in the chapel of the Rosary in the Church of the Minerva, but certainly nothing by him is visible there.

[39] M. Faucon is cited by M. Müntz as affirming in *L'Art*, Vol. III., pp. 144, that this chapel was not in the Vatican, but in Saint Peter's.

[40] Milanesi shows that none of the early chroniclers say that the archbishopric of Florence was ever offered to Fra Angelico ; he has, however, little doubt but that Angelico's influence with Pope Eugenius may have brought about the election of Antonino. See also the Annotations to Vasari's Life of Fra Angelico in the Arundel Society's pamphlet, p. 24.

a friend of the poor, and one who feared God : on this man he considered that the proposed dignity would be much more appropriately conferred than on himself. The Pope hearing this, and remembering that what he said of this brother of his order was true, freely granted him the favour he desired, and thus was the Frate Antonino of the order of Friars-Preachers made archbishop of Florence. And the new prelate was in truth most illustrious, whether for learning or sanctity ; he was of such a character, in fine, that he fully merited the honour of canonization bestowed on him in our own days by Pope Adrian VI.

A great proof of excellence was this act of Fra Giovanni's, and, without doubt, a very rare thing. The resignation of a dignity so eminent, of an honour and office so important, offered to himself by the supreme pontiff, but yielded by him to the man whom he, with unbiassed judgment and in the sincerity of his heart, considered much more worthy of it than himself. The churchmen of our times might learn from this holy man to refrain from taking upon them those offices, the duties of which they cannot duly fulfil, and to resign them to those who are more worthy of them. And would to God, that all ecclesiastics (be it said without offence to the good among them) would employ their time, as did this excellent father, to return to Fra Giovanni, so truly named Angelico, seeing that he continued the whole course of his life in the service of God, or in labouring for the benefit of the world and of his neighbour. And what more can or ought to be desired, than by thus living righteously, to secure the kingdom of heaven, and by labouring virtuously, to obtain everlasting fame in this world ? And, of a truth, so extraordinary and sublime a gift as that possessed by Fra Giovanni, should scarcely be conferred on any but a man of most holy life, since it is certain that all who take upon them to meddle with sacred and ecclesiastical subjects, should be men of holy and spiritual minds ; for we cannot but have seen that when such works are attempted by persons of little faith, and who do but lightly esteem re-

ligion, they frequently cause light thoughts and unworthy inclinations to awaken in the beholder; whence it follows that these works are censured for their offences in this kind, even while praised for the ability displayed in them as works of art. Yet I would not here give occasion to the mistake that things rude and inept shall therefore be holy, and that the beautiful and attractive are licentious: this is the false interpretation of many who, when they see feminine or youthful figures adorned with more than common beauty, instantly consider them licentious, and therefore censure them; not perceiving how wrongfully they are condemning the sound judgment of the painter; for the latter believes the saints, male and female, who are celestial, to be as much superior to mere mortals in beauty, as heaven is superior to things earthly and the work of human hands; and, what is worse, they at the same time betray the unsoundness and impurity of their own hearts, by thus deducing evil consequences from, and finding causes of offence, in things which, if they were truly admirers of good, as by their stupid zeal they desire to make themselves appear, would rather awaken in them aspirations towards heaven, and to wish to make themselves acceptable to the Creator of all things, from whom, as Himself, the highest and most perfect; beauty and perfection have proceeded. But what are we to suppose that such people would do if they were placed, or rather what *do* they when they *are* placed, where they find living beauty, accompanied by light manners, by seductive words, by movements full of grace, and eyes that cannot but ravish the heart not amply guarded? What are we to believe they then do, since the mere image, the very shadow, can move them so powerfully? Not that I would have any suppose me to approve the placing in churches of such figures as are depicted in all but perfect nudity; by no means: for in such cases the painter has not taken into consideration the reserve that was due to the place. He may have just cause for desiring to make manifest the extent of his power; but this should be done with due regard

to circumstances, and not without befitting respect to persons, times, and places.

Fra Giovanni was a man of the utmost simplicity of intention, and was most holy in every act of his life. It is related of him, and it is a good evidence of his simple earnestness of purpose, that being one morning invited to breakfast by Pope Nicholas V., he had scruples of conscience as to eating meat without the permission of his prior, not considering that the authority of the pontiff was superseding that of the prior. He disregarded all earthly advantages; and, living in pure holiness, was as much the friend of the poor in life as I believe his soul now is in heaven. He laboured continually at his paintings, but would do nothing that was not connected with things holy. He might have been rich, but for riches he took no care; on the contrary, he was accustomed to say, that the only true riches was contentment with little. He might have commanded many, but would not do so, declaring that there was less fatigue and less danger of error in obeying others, than in commanding others. It was at his option to hold places of dignity in the brotherhood of his order, and also in the world; but he regarded them not, affirming that he sought no dignity and took no care but that of escaping hell and drawing near to Paradise. And of a truth what dignity can be compared to that which should be most coveted by all churchmen, nay, by every man living, that, namely, which is found in God alone, and in a life of virtuous labour?

Fra Giovanni was kindly to all, and moderate in all his habits, living temperately, and holding himself entirely apart from the snares of the world. He used frequently to say, that he who practised the art of painting had need of quiet, and should live without cares or anxious thoughts; adding, that he who would do the work of Christ should perpetually remain with Christ. He was never seen to display anger among the brethren of his order; a thing which appears to me most extraordinary, nay, almost incredible; if he admonished his friends, it was with gentleness and a

quiet smile; and to those who sought his works, he would reply with the utmost cordiality, that they had but to obtain the assent of the prior, when he would assuredly not fail to do what they desired. In fine, this never sufficiently to be lauded father was most humble, modest, and excellent in all his words and works; in his painting he gave evidence of piety and devotion, as well as of ability, and the saints that he painted have more of the air and expression of sanctity than have those of any other master.

It was the custom of Fra Giovanni to abstain from retouching or improving any painting once finished. He altered nothing, but left all as it was done the first time, believing, as he said, that such was the will of God. It is also affirmed that he would never take the pencil in hand until he had first offered a prayer. He is said never to have painted a Crucifix without tears streaming from his eyes, and in the countenances and attitudes of his figures it is easy to perceive proof of his sincerity, his goodness, and the depth of his devotion to the religion of Christ.

Fra Giovanni died in 1455, at the age of sixty-eight. He left disciples, among whom was Benozzo, a Florentine, by whom his manner was always imitated, with Zanobi Strozzi, who executed paintings for all Florence, which were dispersed among the houses of the citizens.

Gentile da Fabriano was likewise among the disciples of Fra Giovanni, as was Domenico di Michelino, who executed the altar-piece of San Zanobi, in the church of Sant' Apollinare, of Florence, with many other pictures. Fra Giovanni Angelico was interred by the brethren of his order in the church of the Minerva at Rome, beside the lateral door which opens on the sacristy. On his tomb, which is of marble and of a round[41] form, is the portrait of the master

[41] The tomb is square, not round, and Vasari, says Milanesi, omitted the following from the inscription: HIC JACET VEN. PICTOR FR. IO. DE FLOR. ORD^{is}. PDICATO ILLV.

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taken from nature;[42] and on the marble is engraved the epitaph, which may be read below:

Non mihi sit laudi, quod eram velut alter Apelles,
Sed quod lucra tuis omnia, Christe, dabam:
Altera nam terris opera extant, altera cœlo
Urbs me Joannem flos tulit Etruriæ.

In Santa Maria del Fiore are two very large books richly decorated with miniatures most admirably executed by the hand of Fra Giovanni Angelico;[43] [44] they are held in the

[42] The figure usually called that of Fra Angelico, in a fresco of Signorelli, at Orvieto, is no longer considered to be the portrait of the angelic monk. Fra Bartolommeo placed the figure of Fra Angelico among the *Beati*, in the fresco of the Last Judgment, in a chapel belonging to the hospital of S. Maria Nuova. From this fresco G. B. Nocchi traced his head of Fra Angelico.

[43] The principal pupils of Fra Angelico were Benozzo Gozzoli and Cosimo Rosselli.

[44] Vasari's life of Angelico, while admirable in spirit, is confused as to chronological arrangement. When the events are properly co-ordinated and we examine the works of his first period, we see in Fra Angelico the pupil of the miniaturists. His color is that of the illuminator of missals and choir-books, his Madonna of the Uffizi is an enlarged miniature, and the angels which are so greatly admired in his Last Judgment and his Paradise (Florentine Academy) are celestial dolls, thin as paper and stuck fast to their gold backgrounds. In this early time the painter's skill in modelling and drawing is in the inverse *ratio* to the size of his canvas, another proof that he cannot forget the miniature, but it is only the limitations of his skill in drawing and modelling which require a small surface; his sentiment of composition is large and noble, and some of his panels, now in the Academy, taken from the doors of a press formerly in the Annunziata, panels which are a foot square (see notably the Flight into Egypt), might be enlarged to colossal size and worthily decorate a church wall. As for the sentiment of beauty, even the paper-doll angels have so much of it that Michelangelo, that lover of muscular construction and heroic nudity, said of them, "Surely the good monk visited Paradise and was allowed to choose his models there." In the later life of Fra Angelico we have in his Crucifixion of San Marco, his fresco of Orvieto, and his cycle in the chapel of San Lorenzo in the Vatican the work of a painter who without for a moment losing his religious conviction, without feeling his subject any less poignantly, has profited by the realistic study of his contemporaries, and who draws and models with a skill which is a whole lifetime removed from his little angelic musicians or his dancing figures in the Paradise of the Academy. M. Lafenestre has admirably defined Angelico's place in the Renaissance when he says that to Fra Giovanni was reserved "the glory of fixing, in a series of imperishable visions, the religious ideal of the middle ages just at

utmost veneration, are most sumptuously adorned, and are only suffered to be seen on occasions of high solemnity.

the moment when it was about to disappear forever." The tenderness of the Gospel, the divine yearning of the *Imitatio Christi*, the *naïf* sweetness of the *Fioretti* of St. Francis, the childlike simplicity of the Golden Legend, found pictorial expression in Angelico's work. As the study of the nude body was forbidden to a monk, he concentrated all his feeling for physical beauty, all his capacity for dramatic expression, on the faces of his saints and angels, and became a unique exponent of religious sentiment. To the churchman's love of minute and elaborate ornament applied to holy things, he united the aspirations of the devout soul toward perfection, and added to the achievements of the *Giotteschi*, beauty, distinction, and emotion. Though without doubt his chief glory is a fervor of conviction which passes beyond and above all *technique*, yet in *technique* also he sets a worthy example, and he owes to his composition, as well as to his conviction, the fact that he charms at once the ignorant, the devotee, the *dilettante*, and the trained artist. To the art student who is occupied with problems of construction and relief, Angelico's lack of the latter and indifference to the former are somewhat shocking, but to the matured artist comes a growing consciousness that the simply and admirably composed little scenes from the life of Christ, in the Florentine Academy, with their flat masses of brilliant color, are a never-ending source of delight to the eye, and that he may sooner tire of the great technical achievements of the Renaissance than of these perfectly decorative little panels. Add to the effect of the latter the growth of art-knowledge shown by Fra Angelico in his frescoes of the chapel of Nicholas V., in the Vatican, frescoes which, in their juxtaposition to the *stanze* of Raphael, are like the *plein chant* of the mediæval church beside the chorded melodies of Palestrina. Add to these again the fresco of Orvieto; lastly, consider the very early epoch of Fra Angelico and that he was well known even before Masaccio began the frescoes of the Carmine, and it must be admitted that here, in spite of his self-imposed limitations, was one of the greatest masters of the Renaissance.

LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI, FLORENTINE ARCHITECT [1]

[Born 1404; died 1472.]

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THE knowledge of letters and the study of the sciences are, without doubt, of the utmost value to all, and offer the most important advantages to every artist who takes pleasure therein; but most of all are they serviceable to sculptors, painters, and architects, for whom

[1] The Alberti were great Florentine nobles, "seeming rather princes," says Machiavelli, "than a private family." They were exiled by their enemies, the Albizzi. In 1412 two thousand gold florins were promised by decree to any who should kill one of the four chiefs of the family, and one thousand florins to the assassin of any Alberti who should have reached eighteen years of age. Leon Battista grew up under such conditions, and was twenty-four years old before the return from exile of Cosimo dei Medici, who counted the Alberti among his warm partisans and put an end to the decree. Even then for a while the Alberti were not quite safe, and during a certain period Leon Battista walked always accompanied by armed men. See M. Yriarte's *Rimini et un Condottiere au XV^me Siècle.*

they prepare the path to various inventions in all the works executed by them; and be the natural qualities of a man what they may, his judgment can never be brought to perfection if he be deprived of the advantages resulting from the accompaniment of learning. For who does not admit, that in selecting the site of buildings it is necessary to proceed with enlightened consideration, in order to their being sheltered from dangerous winds, and so placed as to avoid insalubrious air, injurious vapours, and the effects of impure and unhealthy waters? who does not allow, that for whatever work is to be executed, the artist must know for himself, both how to avoid impediments and how to secure all needful results, that he may not be reduced to depend on others for the theory on which his labours must be founded, to ensure success? Since theory, when separated from practice, is, for the most part, found to avail very little; but when theory and practice chance to be happily united in the same person, nothing can be more suitable to the life and vocation of artists, as well because art is rendered much richer and more perfect by the aid of science, as because the councils and writings of learned artists have, in themselves, a greater efficacy, and obtain a higher degree of credit, than can be accorded to the words or works of those who know nothing beyond the simple process they use, and which they put in practice, well or ill, as it may chance. Now that all this is true is seen clearly in the instance of Leon Batista Alberti who, having given his attention to the study of Latin as well as to that of architecture, perspective, and painting, has left behind him books, written in such a manner, that no artist of later times has been able to surpass him in his style and other qualities as an author, while there have been numbers, much more distinguished than himself in the practice of art,[2]

[2] According to M. Müntz, *Les Primitifs*, 361, the first work written by Alberti was *Della Pittura libri tre* (1435), dedicated to Brunelleschi; to this must be added the *Elementa Picturæ*, first published by Mancini at Cortona in 1864. Other works are *I cinque Ordini Architettonici*, *Il Trattato*

although it is very generally supposed (such is the force of his writings, and so extensive has been their influence on the pens and words of the learned, his contemporaries and others), that he was, in fact, superior to all those who have, on the contrary, greatly surpassed him in their works. We are thus taught by experience, that, in so far as regards name and fame, the written word is that which, of all things, has the most effectual force, the most vivid life, and the longest duration; for books make their way to all places, and everywhere they obtain the credence of men, provided they be truthful and written in the spirit of candour. We are therefore not to be surprised if we find the renowned Leon Batista to be better known by his writings than by the works of his hand.

This master was born in Florence,[3] of the most noble family of the Alberti, concerning which we have already spoken in another place. He gave his attention, not only to the acquirement of knowledge in the world of art generally, and to the examination of works of antiquity in their proportions, &c., but also, and much more fully, to writing on these subjects, to which he was by nature more inclined than to the practice of art.[4] Leon Batista was well versed in

d'Architettura, 1452 (published first in 1485), and the *De Statua*, written after 1464; *Piacevolezze Matematiche* (Mechanics' Hydraulics, etc.), and *Trattato della Prospettiva*. These various works, written in Latin, were in part translated by their author into Italian, and portions of them were translated by C. Bartoli, in 1550 and 1565, into Italian, and in 1553 into French. The *De Re Ædeficatoria* was, says Dr. Richter, the principal occasion of the revival of the antique style of architecture in Italy.

[3] He was a natural son of Lorenzo Alberti and Margherita di Messer Piero Binini, and was born in 1404, in Venice, where his father was staying as a political refugee.

[4] Before he was twenty, Alberti, who studied at Bologna, wrote a comedy in Latin called *Philodoxeos*, and signed "*Lepidus Comicus.*" The younger Manutius, even as late as 1588, believed it to be an antique comedy and published it as such, *Lepidi Comici veteris Philodoxeos fabula ex antiquitate eruta;* but M. Charles Yriarte cites Albert d'Eybe, a canon of Bamberg, as having recognized that it was modern and attributed it to Carlo Marsuppini. Poggio Bracciolini had been cognizant of the authorship of his friend Alberti, and later made it known to Lionello d'Este.

arithmetic, and a very good geometrician; he wrote ten books respecting architecture in the Latin tongue, which were published in 1481;[5] they may now be read in the Florentine language, having been translated by the Rev. Messer Cosimo Bartoli, provost of San Giovanni, in Florence. He likewise wrote three books on painting, now translated into the Tuscan by Messer Ludovico Domenichi, and composed a dissertation on tractile forces, containing rules for measuring heights. Leon Batista was moreover the author of the *Libri della vita civile*,[6] with some other works of an amatory character, in prose and verse: he was the first who attempted to apply Latin measures to Italian verse, as may be seen in his epistle.

Questa per estrema miserabile pistola mando,
A te che spregi miseramente noi.

At the time when Nicholas V. had thrown the city of Rome into utter confusion with his peculiar manner of building, Leon Batista Alberti arrived in that city, where, by means of his intimate friend Biondo da Forli,[7] he became

[5] Finished, says Matteo Palmieri (*de Temporibus Suis*), in 1452; published in 1485 by Angelo Poliziano.

[6] Sig. Bonucci, says Milanesi, has proved that this book, which having borne several names has been considered as several different works, is the famous treatise *Del governo della Famiglia*, a series of dialogues between a Florentine merchant and his children. This work was long attributed to Agnolo Pandolfini, and is still published under his name.

[7] Flavio Biondo of Forli, secretary of Eugenius IV. and of Nicholas V. He was the author of *Roma Instaurata*, and M. Müntz calls him the creator of archæology. Biondo and Poggio Bracciolini were almost the first to courageously protest against the vandalistic destruction of antique buildings by princes who wished for building material. M. Müntz (see his *Arts à la Cour des Papes*) was unable to find a single document in Rome testifying to the presence of Alberti in that city. M. Yriarte (*Rimini*, p. 186, note 1) says that this absence of documents is caused by the fact that Alberti's position as the holder of important benefices enabled him to be independent of restrictions. Letters from him to Sigismondo and to Matteo de' Pasti, dated in Rome, prove his presence there, and it was Pope Martin V. who, in 1424, directly addressed the magistrates of the Florentine Balia, requesting them to recall Alberti from exile. See the work upon the family of the Alberti, written for the Duc de Luynes by Passerini.

known to the pontiff. The latter had previously availed himself of the counsel of Bernardo Rossellino, a Florentine sculptor and architect, as will be related in the life of Antonio his brother; and Bernardo, having commenced the restoration of the papal palace, with other works in Santa Maria Maggiore, thenceforward proceeded by the advice of Leon Batista, such being the will of the Pope. Thus the pontiff with the counsel of one of these two, and the execution of the other, brought many useful and praiseworthy labours to conclusion: among these was the Fountain of the Acqua Vergine, which had been ruined, and was restored by him. He likewise caused the fountain of the Piazza de' Trevi to be decorated with the marble ornaments which we now see there,[8] among which are the arms of Pope Nicholas himself, and those of the Roman people.[9]

Leon Batista thence proceeded to Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini, for whom he made the model of the church of San Francesco,[10] that of the Façade more particularly, which

[8] These ornaments had been lost even in Bottari's day.

[9] Restored in 1466 and 1472, in the latter year by Francesco Lora. See M. Eug. Müntz, *Monuments antiques de Rome au XVme Siècle*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 1875. Afterward the fountain was restored and richly adorned by Niccolo Salvi under Pope Clement XII. See Milanesi, vol. II., p. 539, note 2.

[10] The corner-stone of the new constructions of the Church of St. Francis of Rimini, more often and more properly called the Malatestian Temple, was laid October 31, 1446. The architect respected the old Gothic church and built about it a sort of envelope or shell in that new manner which was based upon the architecture of the Greeks and Romans. Close at his hand was the arch of Augustus, which stood at the beginning of the Flaminian Way, and in it, says M. Yriarte, Alberti found his inspiration for the front of his church, a front which became the first *façade* of the Renaissance, just as Brunelleschi's San Lorenzo of Florence became the first interior of the new style. For the history of the work almost no documents exist, as the Riminesi burned the archives of the Malateste on the Piazza della Fontana in 1527. There was, therefore, little or nothing to prove what artists had or had not worked in the church. Luca della Robbia, Ghiberti, Simone, brother of Donatello, Bernardo Ciuffagni, are named by Vasari as having worked there. Ciuffagni may have done so, but the Aretine author is wholly at fault regarding Luca; he makes him go to Rimini (at the age of fifteen years, in 1414) to work upon the Temple, which was not begun till more than thirty years later. Ghiberti, on the other hand, was in Rimini fifty-six years before the construction of

was constructed in marble, and of the southern side, where there are very large arches with burial places for the illustrious men of that city. In fine, he completed the whole fabric in such a manner that it is beyond dispute one of the most renowned temples of Italy. Within this church are six very beautiful chapels,[11] one of which, dedicated to San

San Francesco. As for Simone, the so-called brother of Donatello, Donatello never had a brother at all. Cicognara puts Pisanello among the sculptors of the reliefs in the church, but Pisanello died only three years after the beginning of the works. Perkins (Tuscan Sculptors) gives to Benedetto of Maiano the most important share in the work. Benedetto, as M. Yriarte remarks, was eight years old when the edifice was inaugurated. M. Yriarte proceeds to show that Matteo de' Pasti was undoubtedly the controlling spirit in the distribution of the decoration of the interior, and that Agostino d'Antonio di Duccio was the author of most of the sculpture. His long and interesting essay, *Le Temple des Malatesta* (*Rimini*, pp. 178–274), contains a most important appreciation of the work of Agostino (see note 21 in the Life of Luca della Robbia in Volume I.), as also a great number of reproductions and of valuable notes, many of them referring to original research.

[11] M. Müntz refuses to credit Alberti with the confused interior distribution of sculpture in S. Francesco at Rimini. He believes that when that master left the works the sculptors in company with the under-architect, Matteo de' Pasti, a Lombard, did as they pleased, sacrificing everything to make the church a gallery of *bas-reliefs*. The result is that this Malatestian Temple is one of the strangest churches in the world. The *façade* is simple and noble, based upon the triumphal arch of the Romans. It is the interior which strikes at once by its novelty, its richness, its spontaneity, above all by its intensely pagan character, so pagan as to have scandalized even a pope who was an arch-patron of the Renaissance. See the commentaries of Pius Secundus. But this pagan effect is due rather to the sculptors than to the architect, to the wishes of Malatesta rather than to the example of Alberti. The latter indeed has kept the Gothic arches, making them the frames of the side-chapels; but these frames of marble have been carved, by Agostino di Duccio and the rest, into an army of arts and sciences, planets and signs, gods and goddesses, which have crowded out every sacred image until the calendar of the seasons displaces the calendar of the saints. These sculptures are intensely mannered, are in very flat relief ("exaggerated *Stiacciato*" a critic has called them), are incorrect in construction and detail, yet are spontaneous and lovely to an extraordinary degree. In lieu of the Madonna, Diva Isotta, mistress and afterward wife of Sigismond, reigns over this incongruous yet beautiful assemblage, and among those palmettes and ultra-heavy Greek wreaths, in which, says M. Yriarte, we find the sign manual of Alberti as decorator, are seen, on every side, the black elephants of the Malatesta. Nowhere in Italy is there an interior more characteristic of the early Renaissance, with its union of eclecticism and of intense personality.

Geronimo, is most sumptuously adorned; various relics brought from Jerusalem being preserved in it. This chapel likewise contains the sepulchre of the above-named Sigismondo, with that of his wife,[12] very richly constructed of fine marbles, in the year 1450. One one of these tombs is the portrait of Malatesta, that of Leon Batista himself being also to be seen in another part of the work.

In the year 1457, when the very useful method of printing books was invented by Giovanni Gutenberg,[13] a German, Leon Batista discovered something similar; the method of representing landscapes, and diminishing figures by means of an instrument, namely, by which small things could in like manner be presented in a larger form, and so enlarged at pleasure: all very extraordinary things, useful to art, and certainly very fine.

It happened about this time, that Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai resolved to adorn the principal Façade of Santa Maria Novella, entirely with marble, at his own cost; whereupon he consulted with Leon Batista, who was his intimate friend, and having received from him not advice only, but

[12] This was Isotta of Rimini, whom Sigismondo eventually married. Malatesta stole so frankly for the construction of his church that he was called sacrilegious by the Pope. He took precious marble from the basilicas of Ravenna, "in one year thirty chariots full" (see M. Yriarte, *op. cit.*, p. 194), carried away the bridge of Fano, the antique quays of Rimini, as well as a fine *campanile;* he even plundered the Greek islands, and fragments of reliefs with undeciphered inscriptions are built into San Francesco. But we must not forget that vandalism went hand in hand during the Renaissance with intense enthusiasm for antiquity, and at one epoch at least the investigator studied the antique monument for his own uses, then pulled it to pieces and put the material *to* those uses. See Pope Martin V.'s permission to take from the abandoned churches marbles for the Lateran pavement, and the example of even the arch-enthusiast, Thomas of Sarzana, Pope Nicholas V., who made a quarry of the Coliseum. It was not till 1462 that Pius II. decreed that the antique monuments should be respected.

[13] The invention to which Vasari alludes is a vertical net-work which divides the model or landscape into squares. Leonardo da Vinci substituted the vertical plane for it. See the Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci by Dr. Richter, I. 260, note, and E. von Brucke in his *Bruchstücke aus der bildender Künste*, Leipzig, 1877. Vasari's comparison of this invention of Alberti's with the invention of printing is amusing.

a design for the work also, he determined that it should by all means be put into execution, that so he might leave a memorial of himself.[14] Rucellai, therefore, caused the work to be at once commenced, and in the year 1477, it was finished, to the great satisfaction of all the city; the whole work being much admired, but more particularly the door, for which it is obvious that Leon Batista took more than common pains. This architect also gave the design for a palace,[15] which Cosimo Rucellai caused to be built in the street called La Vigne, with that for the Loggia which stands opposite to it.[16] In constructing the latter, Alberti, having made the arches above the columns very narrow, because he wished to continue them, and not make one arch

[14] The *façade* of S. M. Novella was commenced at an earlier date (after 1348), the funds coming from a legacy of Turino Baldesi, and certain critics claim that later Giovanni Bettini furnished the design for the completion of the *façade*. Sig. Passerini, however, feels sure that the central door was designed by Alberti, or else is a servile imitation of his style. See Milanesi, vol. II., pp. 544, note 1. Dr. Marcotti, in his *Guide-souvenir de Florence*, declares that Alberti was the designer of all the newer part of the *façade*, and that Giovanni Bettini (Bertini, di Bettino) was only master of the works. The architect was compelled to respect and take account of the Gothic tombs which existed at the side of the church, and therefore of the Gothic doors that adjoined the same. The result is a mixed style, which critics do not find wholly a happy one. The date of the termination of the *façade* is not certain, although a monumental inscription cited by M. Müntz, *Les Primitifs*, p. 466, gives the year 1470.

[15] These dates, 1451–1455, are Milanesi's; Müntz suggests 1460. Filarete, in 1464, speaks of the Rucellai palace as new. It was probably built for Giovanni Rucellai—Giovanni delle Fabbriche, John the Builder, as his contemporaries called him—and the wind-filled sails of the Rucellai may be seen upon the palace front as upon the *façade* of Santa Maria Novella.

[16] M. Müntz, *Les Primitifs*, calls this the most complete and harmonious creation of Alberti, in which he "boldly opposes the modern palace, gay and elegant, to the severe palace of Brunelleschi and Michelozzo." "Here," says Dr. Marcotti, "is the marking-point of the relinquishment of the Florentine style for the revival of classicism." See G. Marcotti, *Un Mercante Fiorentino*, taken from an autograph MS. of Giovanni Rucellai, in the possession of Mr. John Temple-Leader. The anonymous author of a MS. in the Magliabecchian Library states that Bernardo Rossellino designed the Rucellai palace, and that Antonio del Migliorino Guidotti built the loggia, and indeed the palace greatly resembles some of Rossellino's works, such as the Palazzo Piccolomini in Pienza and the Piccolomini in Siena. See Milanesi, II., p. 542, note 1.

only, found he had a certain space left on each side, and was consequently compelled to add ressaults to the inner angles. When he afterwards proceeded to turn the arches of the internal vaulting, he perceived that he could not give it the form of the half-circle, the effect of which would be stunted and clumsy; he therefore determined to turn small arches over the angles from one ressault to the other, showing that there was wanting in him that soundness of judgment in design, which, as is clearly evident, can only be the result of practice added to knowledge; each must be aided by the other, for the judgment can never become perfect unless the knowledge acquired be carried into operation, and the guidance of experience be attained by means of practice.

It is said that the same architect produced the design for the palace and gardens,[17] erected by the Rucellai family in the Via della Scala, an edifice constructed with much judgment, and which is therefore exceedingly commodious. Besides many other convenient arrangements, there are two galleries or loggie, one towards the south, the other to the west, both very beautiful, and raised upon the columns without arches; which method is the true and proper one, according to the ancients, because the architraves, which are placed immediately upon the capitals of the columns, stand level, while a rectangular body, such as is the arch turned into a vault in the upper part, cannot stand on a round column, without having the angles out of square or awry; this considered, the best mode of construction requires that the architraves should be placed upon the columns, or that, when it is resolved to construct arches, the master should employ pillars instead of columns.

For the same family of Rucellai, and in a similar manner, Leon Batista erected a chapel in the church of San Brancazio,[18] which rests on large architraves, supported on the

[17] In these gardens assembled the famous Platonic academy, but the palace was not built till 1498, and is not by Alberti. See Passerini, *Degli orti Oricellari*, 1854. It is now the Stiozzi-Orloff palace.

[18] San Pancrazio, rather; it was erected in 1467; the church is suppressed, but the chapel still exists.

side where the wall of the church opens into the chapel by two columns and two pilasters. This is a very difficult mode of proceeding, but gives great security, and is accordingly among the best works produced by this architect. In the centre of this chapel is an oblong tomb in marble of an oval form, and similar, according to an inscription engraved on the tomb itself, to the sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem.

About the same time, Ludovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, having determined to construct the apsis, or tribune, and the principal chapel in the Nunziata, the church of the Servites in Florence, after the design and model of Leon Batista, caused a small square chapel, very old, and painted in the ancient manner, which was at the upper end of that church, to be demolished, and in its place made the tribune above-mentioned.[19] It has the fanciful and difficult form of a circular temple surrounded by nine chapels, all surmounted by a round arch, and each having the shape of a niche. But as the arches of these chapels are supported by the pilasters in front of them, it follows that the outlines of the stone arch tend constantly backwards towards the wall behind them, while the latter, following the form of the tribune itself, turns in the opposite direction : hence it results, that when the arches of the chapels are regarded from the side, they appear to fall backwards, which gives the whole an unhappy effect, although the proportions are correct : but the mode of treatment is an exceedingly difficult one, and it certainly would have been much better if Leon Batista had avoided the disorders of this method altogether : it is true that the plan is by no means easy of accomplishment, but there is a want of grace both in the whole and in the details, insomuch that it could not possibly have a good effect. And that this is true in respect of the

[19] The tribune was constructed 1470–1476. Ludovico Gonzaga, Captain-General of the Florentine republic, gave a large portion of his military wages to the rebuilding of the choir of the Annunziata, and ordered that the banners and trophies taken from the enemy should be hung up there. Giovanni Aldobrandini, 1471, tried vainly to persuade Ludovico to depart from the designs of Alberti in the construction of this choir. See Milanesi, Faccioli, and Gaye.

larger parts may be shown by the great arch which forms the entrance to the tribune; for this, which is very beautiful on the outer side, appears on the inner, where it must of necessity turn with the turn of the chapel, which is round, to be falling backwards, and is extremely ungraceful. Leon Batista would, perhaps, not have fallen into this error, if to the knowledge he possessed, and to his theories, he had added the practice and experience acquired by actual working; another would have taken pains to avoid this difficulty, and sought rather to secure grace and beauty to his edifice. The whole work is nevertheless very fanciful and beautiful in itself, as well as difficult: nor can we deny that Leon Batista displayed great courage in venturing at that time to construct the tribune as he did. The architect was then invited to Mantua by the above-named Marchese Ludovico, where he made the model of the church of Sant' Andrea,[20] for that noble, with some few other works, and on the road leading from Mantua to Padua, there are certain churches which were erected after the manner of this architect. The Florentine Salvestro Fancelli,[21] a tolerably good architect and sculptor, was the person who carried Leon Batista's designs for the city of Florence into execution, according to the desire of that master, and this he did with extraordinary judgment and diligence. The works designed by Alberti for Mantua were executed by a certain Luca, also a Florentine, who, continuing ever after to dwell in that city, there died,

[20] Sant' Andrea, designed in 1470, commenced in 1472, was not finished till forty years afterward. The small and elegant church of S. Sebastiano was also designed in Mantua by Alberti, and commenced in 1460. Sant' Andrea is a wonderfully beautiful church; its lines are so pure that even the painted ornaments with which it has been plentifully besprinkled cannot spoil it. Baron H. von Geymüller (*Projets Primitifs pour la Basilique de Saint Pierre de Rome*, p. 7) admits without hesitation that it served Bramante as a model for the interior of Saint Peter's, while the porch, too, had its influence upon the later architect. Symonds in his Fine Arts (History of the Renaissance) notes the highly imaginative faculty implied by the building of such a church at a time when "the rules of classic architecture had not yet been reduced to method," but he blames the use as a porch of what is, after all, a mere decorative screen.

[21] Luca Fancelli, rather.

leaving the name, as we are told by Filarete, to the family of the Luchi, which is still settled there. And the good fortune of Leon Batista was not small in thus having friends, who, comprehending his desires, were both able and willing to serve him, for as architects cannot always be at the work, it is of the utmost advantage to them to have a faithful and friendly assistant, and if no other ever knew this, I know it well, and that by long experience.

In painting, Leon Batista did not perform any great work, or execute pictures of much beauty; those remaining to us from his hand, and they are but very few, do not display a high degree of perfection, seeing that he was more earnestly devoted to study than to design. Yet he knew perfectly well how to give expression to his thoughts with the pencil, as may be seen in certain drawings by his hand in our book. In these are depicted the bridge of St. Angelo, with the sort of roof or covering in the manner of a Loggia, constructed over it after his design, as a shelter from the sun in summer, and from the rain and wind in winter. This work he executed for Pope Nicholas V.,[22] who had intended to construct many similar ones for various parts of Rome, but death interposed to prevent him. In a small chapel to the Virgin, at the approach to the bridge of the Carraia, in Florence, is a work by Leon Batista, an altar-table, namely, with three small historical pictures, and certain accessories in perspective, which were much more effectually described by him with the pen than depicted with the pencil. There is besides, a portrait of Alberti in the house of the Palla Rucellai family in Florence, drawn by himself with the aid of a mirror;[23] and a picture in chiaro-scuro, the figures of which

[22] The design, rather.

[23] These paintings are lost, but there is a well-known profile bronze medal of Alberti by Matteo de' Pasti, of Verona; the reverse bears a winged eye, with the words *Quid tum*, and a laurel wreath. The celebrated *plaquette* in the Dreyfus collection, Paris, bears Alberti's name; a repetition of it is in the Louvre, but the latter lacks the initials. Competent critics believe this relief to be by Alberti himself. A third authentic portrait is in the medallion which is the companion to the one upon the tomb of Pandolfo Sigismondo Malatesta in the Malatestian temple.

are large. He likewise executed a perspective view of Venice and St. Mark's, but the figures seen in this work, which is one of the best paintings performed by Leon Batista, were executed by other masters.

Leon Batista Alberti was a man of refined habits and praiseworthy life,[24] a friend of distinguished men, liberal and courteous to all. He lived honourably and like a gentleman, as he was, all the course of his life, and finally, having attained to a tolerably mature age, he departed[25] content and tranquil to a better life, leaving behind him a most honourable name.[26]

[24] He took orders and held various ecclesiastical offices, was canon of the Florentine cathedral, rector of the "*prepositura* di San Martino a Gangalandi," abbot of San Savino and of Sant' Ermete di Pisa, a prelate of Borgo San Lorenzo, and became apostolical secretary. See Pozzetti, *Mem. e doc. ined.*, Bottari and Tiraboschi, cited by Milanesi.

[25] Alberti died in Rome in the spring of 1472, and was buried in the church from which he held a title, but his ashes were soon carried to Florence, where, after Politian had pronounced the funeral oration, they were placed in the family tomb in Santa Croce. See Yriarte's *Rimini*, p. 187.

[26] Leon Battista Alberti incarnated the thought of the early Renaissance as did Leonardo da Vinci that of the later and riper period. This artist-humanist was at once athlete, poet—both in Latin and the vulgar tongue—critic, essayist, moralist, mathematician, engineer, writer upon optics, inventor, sculptor, medallist, and architect. He led humanistic debates, yet held a benefice from Pope Nicholas, was pontifical secretary after the year 1433, and at the same time served the pagan Malatesta. Like Leonardo, he worked at so many things that he accomplished relatively little in the concrete, but was a mighty influence. It is not certain that he built either the Rucellai palace or the *façade* of Santa Maria Novella, though both are attributed to him, but San Francesco of Rimini and Sant' Andrea of Mantua suffice to his fame. M. Müntz calls him "the ideal consulting architect," the man who "plans in his study and goes rarely to the works." Alberti's force as a factor in the Renaissance was tripled by his peculiar position, his influence as artist, as humanist, and as prince (or at least as the member at once of a princely house and of the prelacy). In the early Renaissance the artist, though often the esteemed and even petted friend of duke or marquis, was a craftsman after all. The humanist stood much higher, intellectually he was often the superior of the princes of Church and State, and as a man he was considered to be their equal; and when to the qualities of a great artist and of a humanist Alberti added the blood of a family equal to the Medici or the Albizzi, he became the peer of any one, and could enforce the principles of his art with an authority accorded only to a man on whom such triple gifts had been bestowed.

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI, FLORENTINE PAINTER[1]

[Born *circa* 1406; died 1469.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—*Delle Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi in Prato*, by Canonico F. Baldanzi, Prato, 1835. G. Milanesi, *L'Art*, 3d year, Vol. IV.; 4th year, Vol. I. Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler*, article by Herr Karl Woermann. *Fra Filippo Lippi* in *L'Art*, XI., p. 289; XII., pp. 5, 63.

THE Carmelite monk, Fra Filippo di Tommaso Lippi, was born at Florence in a bye street called Ardiglione, under the Canto alla Cuculia, and behind the convent of the Carmelites. By the death of his father[2] he was left a friendless orphan at the age of two years, his mother having also died shortly after his birth. The child was for some time under the care of a certain Mona Lapaccia, his aunt, the sister of his father, who brought him up with very great difficulty till he had attained his eighth year, when, being no longer able to support the burden of his maintenance, she placed him in the above-named convent of the Carmelites.[3] Here, in proportion as he showed

[1] Filippo di Tommaso Lippi, called Fra Filippo Lippi and Lippo Lippi, to distinguish him from Filippino Lippi.

[2] Tommaso di Lippo, a butcher, was the father of Filippo Lippi; his mother, who died in the early years of the fifteenth century, is not known by name. Vasari in his first edition gives the date of Filippo's birth as the year 1402, and in the second edition changes it to 1412, but Milanesi shows that Filippo went first to the convent when eight years old, served there some six years, and took his first orders, after a year's novitiate, on June 8, 1421. This fixes the date of his birth as about 1406. After the death of Lippo's mother Tommaso married again, his second wife being Antonia di Ser Bindo Sernigi.

[3] The usual custom of changing the baptismal name upon entering a convent appears to have been departed from in the instance of Filippo. He is registered for the first time in 1420 as a full-fledged *frate*, to whom the convent grants a certain sum to pay for his monk's robe. A few months later he professed. See note 2.

himself dexterous and ingenious in all works performed by hand, did he manifest the utmost dulness and incapacity in letters, to which he would never apply himself, nor would he take any pleasure in learning of any kind. The boy continued to be called by his worldly name of Filippo, and being placed with others, who like himself were in the house of the novices, under the care of the master, to the end that the latter might see what could be done with him ; in place of studying, he never did anything but daub his own books, and those of the other boys with caricatures, whereupon the prior determined to give him all means and every opportunity for learning to draw. The chapel of the Carmine had then been newly painted by Masaccio, and this being exceedingly beautiful, pleased Fra Filippo greatly, wherefore he frequented it daily for his recreation, and, continually practising there, in company with many other youths, who were constantly drawing in that place, he surpassed all the others by very much in dexterity and knowledge ; insomuch that he was considered certain to accomplish some marvellous thing in the course of time. For not only in his youth, but when almost in his childhood, he performed so many praiseworthy labours, that it was truly wonderful. While still very young he painted a picture in *terra verde*,[4] in the cloister, near Masaccio's painting of the Consecration ; the subject of which was a Pope confirming the Rule of the Carmelites, with others in fresco on several of the walls in different parts of the church : among these was a figure of St. John the Baptist, with stories from the life of that saint. Proceeding thus, and improving from

[4] The account-book of the convent mentions Filippo as painter in the years 1430, 1431. He probably worked at this time in the cloister of the convent and if, as Milanesi believes, Masaccio painted the Brancacci chapel toward the end of his life, it is quite possible that Filippo studied with him, and certain that he must have at least seen and profited by the paintings in the chapel. All of Filippo's works in the Carmine have perished, unless certain fragments in the cloister be his ; but Messrs. Cavalcaselle and Crowe call attention to the fact that the fresco in the cloister of the Carmine is not in *terra verde*, and think it can hardly be from the hand of Filippo Lippi, as it is painted in the style of Masaccio. See their *Storia della Pittura in Italia*, II., 214.

day to day, he had so closely followed the manner of Masaccio, and his works displayed so much similarity to those of the latter, that many affirmed the spirit of Masaccio to have entered the body of Fra Filippo.[5] On one of the pillars of the church, near the organ, he depicted the figure of San Marziale, a work by which he acquired great fame, seeing that it was judged to bear a comparison with those executed by Masaccio. Whereupon, hearing himself so highly commended by all, he formed his resolution at the age of seventeen, and boldly threw off the clerical habit.[6]

Some time after this event, and being in the march of Ancona, Filippo was one day amusing himself with certain of his friends in a boat on the sea, when they were all taken by a Moorish galley which was cruising in that neighbourhood, and led captives into Barbary, where he remained, suffering many tribulations, for eighteen months. But, having frequent opportunities of seeing his master, it came into his head one day to draw his portrait; and finding an opportunity, he took a piece of charcoal from the fire, and with that delineated his figure at full length on a white wall, robed in his Moorish vestments. This being related to the master by the other slaves, to all of whom it appeared a miracle, the arts of drawing and painting not being practised in that country, the circumstance caused his liberation from the chains in which he had so long been held. And truly that was greatly to the glory of that noble art; for here was a man to whom belonged the right of condemning and punishing, but who, in place of inflicting pains and death, does the direct contrary, and is even led

[5] All critics have not subscribed to this statement; many detect rather the influence of Fra Angelico. It is, however, quite patent to any careful observer that both these great masters, Angelico and Masaccio, affected the eminently sympathetic temperament of Filippo.

[6] Milanesi has proved that he did not throw off the clerical habit, and that in leaving the convent he continued to be a friar, and maintained friendly relations with the other monks. A bull of Pope Eugenius, issued February 23, 1442, made him rector for life of the parochial church of San Quirico, at Legnaja, near Florence. He was chaplain in 1452 of the nuns of San Nicolo de Frieri of Florence, and later of the nuns of Santa Margherita at Prato.

to show friendship, and restore the captive to liberty. Having afterwards executed certain works in painting for his master, he was then conducted safely to Naples,[7] where he painted a picture on panel for king Alfonso, then Duke of Calabria, which was placed in the chapel of the castle, where the guard-room now is. But after no long time he conceived a wish to return to Florence, where he remained some months, during which time he painted an altar-piece for the nuns of Sant' Ambrogio, a most beautiful picture,[8] by means of which he became known to Cosimo de' Medici, who was thereby rendered his most assured friend.[9] He likewise executed a painting in the chapter-house of Santa Croce,[10] with a second, which was placed in the chapel of the Medici Palace, and on which he depicted the Nativity of Christ.[11] Fra Filippo likewise painted a picture for the wife of the above-named Cosimo, the subject of which is also a Nativity of Christ, with a figure of St. John the

[7] According to Milanesi the dates of some of Filippo's works make the story of his slavery in Barbary improbable, though they do not wholly disprove it. His picture for the Duke of Calabria, or rather for King Alfonso I. of Naples, was painted in Florence in 1456, and no traces of Filippo's stay in Ancona or Naples can be found.

[8] Milanesi's dates for this Coronation of the Virgin are that of the original commission, 1434, and that of final payment, 1447. It is a large altar-piece with many figures, now in the Academy at Florence. In the right-hand lower corner is seen Fra Lippo himself beside an angel, bearing a scroll inscribed, "*Is perfecit Opus.*" This is the most important and perhaps the most interesting of Filippo's altar-pieces. For inscriptions once existing on the picture, see *Florence*, by MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, p. 181, and for charming philosophico-poetical reflections, apparently inspired by this picture and by the story of the friar's life, see Robert Browning's poem, Fra Lippo Lippi.

[9] This work was executed long after Cosimo first knew Filippo. It has been stated that the woman with the children in the foreground, near the figure of Fra Filippo, was either Spinetta or Lucrezia Buti. But at this time (1441) Spinetta was only eight years old and Lucrezia was six.

[10] The picture for the chapter-house of Santa Croce was a Madonna Enthroned with the Child, at right and left Saints Damian and Francis, Cosimo and Anthony of Padua; it is now in the Academy of Florence.

[11] The picture for Casa Medici, a Madonna and Child, with two little angels, is now in the Uffizi, where there is also a study for it, and the gallery of the Hospital of the Innocenti possesses a slightly modified *replica.*

Baptist; this work was intended for one of the cells in the hermitage of Camaldoli which she had caused to be constructed as a mark of devotion, and had dedicated to St. John the Baptist.[12] Other pictures by the same master, containing stories in small figures, were sent as a gift to Pope Eugenius IV., who was a Venetian, by Cosimo de' Medici, and these works caused Fra Filippo to be in great favour with that pontiff.

It is said that Fra Filippo was much addicted to the pleasures of sense, insomuch that he would give all he possessed to secure the gratification of whatever inclination might at the moment be predominant; but if he could by no means accomplish his wishes, he would then depict the object which had attracted his attention, in his paintings, and endeavour by discoursing and reasoning with himself to diminish the violence of his inclination. It was known that, while occupied in the pursuit of his pleasures, the works undertaken by him received little or none of his attention; for which reason Cosimo de' Medici, wishing him to execute a work in his own palace,[13] shut him up, that he might not waste his time in running about; but having endured this confinement for two days, he then made ropes with the sheets of his bed, which he cut to pieces for that purpose, and so having let himself down from a window, escaped, and for several days gave himself up to his amusements. When Cosimo found that the painter had disappeared, he caused him to be sought, and Fra Filippo at last returned to his work, but from that time forward Cosimo gave him liberty to go in and out at his pleasure, repenting greatly of having previously shut him up when he considered the danger that Fra Filippo had incurred by his folly in descending from the window; and ever afterwards,

[12] The second Nativity, painted for Cosimo's wife, is believed by Milanesi to be a picture in the Academy, which was at one time attributed to Masolino da Panicale, while Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are reminded by it of Fra Angelico.

[13] Two *lunettes* now in the National Gallery of London came from the Medici (now Riccardi) palace.

labouring to keep him to his work by kindness only, he was by this means much more promptly and effectually served by the painter, and was wont to say that the excellencies of rare genius were as forms of light and not beasts of burden.[14]

For the church of Santa Maria Primerana, on the piazza of Fiesole, Fra Filippo painted a picture,[15] wherein he depicted Our Lady receiving the Annunciation from the angel. This work exhibits extraordinary care, and there is so much beauty in the figure of the angel, that it appears to be indeed a celestial messenger. This master executed two pictures for the nuns of the Murate; one, an Annunciation,[16] is placed on the high altar; the other, presenting stories from the lives of San Benedetto and San Bernardo, is on another altar of the same church.[17] In the palace of the Signoria Fra Filippo likewise painted a picture which is over a door; with another representing San Bernardo, placed over another door, in the same palace.[18] In the sacristy of Santo Spirito, in Florence, is a painting by this master, representing the Virgin surrounded by angels, and with saints on either hand, a work of rare excellence, which has ever been held in the highest esteem by men versed in our arts.[19] In the church of San Lorenzo, Fra Filippo executed a

[14] Fra Filippo's letters do not bear out Vasari's description of the jovial friar. He was poor and made great sacrifices to provide for his nieces. See the letter to Piero de' Medici in Gaye's *Carteggio*.

[15] Long since sold; Milanesi suggests that it may be identical with a picture in the Gallery at Munich.

[16] An Annunciation in the Munich Gallery, and much injured, came from the Murate. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in Italy.

[17] This work is lost.

[18] Milanesi proves by a document that Filippo was paid for the picture in the Palazzo Vecchio in 1447. The Vision of San Bernardo is in the National Gallery of London, and represents the Madonna, who appears to the Saint. The Annunciation painted for the Signoria has perished.

[19] Now in the Louvre; it was ordered of Filippo by the captains of Or San Michele in 1436. A *tondo* bought by the National Gallery of London from the Baldi-Lombardi collection of Florence, was, according to Milanesi, mistaken for a time for this picture. The London picture is not considered by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be by Fra Filippo. It is probably only a work of his school. The *predella* is in the Academy at Florence, see Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, p. 189.

picture, also representing the Annunciation, which is in the chapel of the Superintendents of Works,[20] with a second for the Della Stufa Chapel, which is not finished. For Sant' Apostolo, in the same city, he painted a picture, in panel for one of the chapels; it presents the Virgin surrounded by different figures.[21] And in Arezzo he executed one for Messer Carlo Marsuppini, to be placed in the chapel of San Bernardo,[22] belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto, wherein he depicted the Coronation of the Virgin, surrounded by numerous saints. This work has maintained itself in so remarkable a degree of freshness, that one might suppose it to have but just left the hands of the master. With respect to this picture, the latter was exhorted by Carlo Marsuppini to give particular attention to the hands, his painting of which, in many of his works, had been much complained of; whereupon Fra Filippo, wishing to avoid such blame for the future, ever afterwards sought to conceal the hands of his figures, either by the draperies or by some other contrivance. In the painting we are now describing, the master has given the portrait of Messer Carlo Marsuppini from the life.

In Florence, Fra Filippo painted the picture of a *Presepio*,[23] for the nuns of Annalena,[24] and some of his works are also to be seen in Padua.[25] He sent two stories in small figures to Rome for Cardinal Barbo; they were admirably

[20] It is still in the church; the second picture painted for the Stufa Chapel has disappeared.

[21] This picture is lost.

[22] According to Milanesi, II. 619, note 1, this picture was sold in 1785, when the convent was suppressed, and eventually passed into the hands of Pope Gregory XVI., who placed it in the Lateran Gallery, where it remains.

[23] A representation of the Nativity.

[24] Milanesi declares this to be a Nativity in the Florentine Academy (*Stanza de' piccoli quadri*). In this little picture is seen a choir of angels, while below are the Magdalen, St. Jerome, and another hermit, who bears inscribed upon his shoulders the name Hilarion (*Ilarione*); the latter figure is said by Richa, *Chiese Fiorentine*, IX. 145, who saw the books of the convent, to be a portrait of Ruberto Malatesta, a brother of Annalena.

[25] These pictures are lost.

executed, and finished with extraordinary care.[26] This master certainly displayed most wonderful grace in his works, blending his colours with the most perfect harmony, qualities for which he has ever been held in the highest esteem among artists, and for which he is extolled by modern masters with unlimited commendation; nay, there can be no doubt, that so long as his admirable labours can be preserved from the voracity of time, his name will be held in veneration by all coming ages. In Prato, near Florence, where Fra Filippo had some relations, he took up his abode for some months, and there executed various works for the whole surrounding district, in company with the Carmelite, Fra Diamante, who had been his companion in noviciate. Having then received a commission from the nuns of Santa Margherita, to paint a picture for the high altar of their church, he one day chanced to see the daughter of Francesco Buti, a citizen of Florence, who had been sent to the Convent, either as a novice or boarder. Fra Filippo, having given a glance at Lucrezia, for such was the name of the girl, who was exceedingly beautiful and graceful, so persuaded the nuns, that he prevailed on them to permit him to make a likeness of her, for the figure of the Virgin in the work he was executing for them.[27] The result of this was, that the painter fell violently in love with Lucrezia, and at length found means to influence her in such a manner, that he led her away from the nuns, and on a certain day, when she had gone forth to do honour to the Cintola[28] of our Lady, a venerated relic preserved at Prato and exhibited

[26] These pictures have disappeared.

[27] Milanesi suggests the possible identification of this Madonna with one in a Nativity which is now in the Louvre. There is a *gradino* still in the Communal Gallery of Prato; it bears the three stories of the Presentation in the Temple, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Slaughter of the Innocents. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however, believe that this picture of the Louvre is by Pesellino rather than by Lippi, and Milanesi, admitting that they may be right, is inclined to think that the picture in the Communal Gallery of Prato is identical with the one which Vasari mentions.

[28] The girdle presented to St. Thomas by the Madonna.

on that occasion, he bore her from their keeping. By this event the nuns were deeply disgraced, and the father of Lucrezia was so grievously afflicted thereat, that he never more recovered his cheerfulness, and made every possible effort to regain his child. But Lucrezia, whether retained by fear or by some other cause, would not return, but remained with Filippo, to whom she bore a son, who was also called Filippo, and who eventually became a most excellent and very famous painter like his father.[29]

In the church of San Domenico, in this same Prato, are two pictures[30] by this master, and in the transept of the church of San Francesco is another, a figure of the Virgin namely. Desiring to remove this work from its original place, the superintendents, to save it from injury, had the wall on which it was depicted cut away, and having secured and bound it with wood-work, thus transported it to another wall of the church, where it is still to be seen.[31] Over a well, in the court-yard of the Ceppo of Francesco di Marco, there is a small picture on panel by this master, representing the portrait of the above-named Francesco di Marco, the au-

[29] Milanesi, in a long commentary, discusses the theories regarding Filippo's *liaison* with Lucrezia, and gives the result of documentary investigation as follows: In 1452 Filippo bought a house at Prato, staying there till about 1463. In 1456, when fifty years old, he fell in love with Lucrezia Buti. Lucrezia's father, Francesco Buti, was a Florentine silk-merchant, who died leaving a family of eleven children to the care of the elder brother Antonio. The latter was forced by limited means to put Spinetta Buti, born in 1434, and Lucrezia, born in 1435, into the convent of Santa Margherita at Prato, of which Filippo was chaplain. Lucrezia ran away with him on the day of the festival of the Holy Girdle, and in 1457 gave birth to a child, who became the famous painter Filippino Lippi. Spinetta also fled from the convent with several other nuns, but all were forced to return in 1459, and re-entered the noviciate. In 1461 Pope Pius II. granted Filippo a dispensation recognizing the friar and nun as a married couple, and Lucrezia, in 1465, bore a daughter named Alessandra.

[30] One of these paintings appears to be lost. The other, still *in situ*, is a Nativity with adoring shepherds, a Saint Vincent, and a militant saint. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle refer to Filippo a picture now attributed to Botticelli, in a church close by the Santo Spirito at Prato, representing a Virgin surrounded by saints.

[31] Since lost.

thor and founder of that pious establishment.[32] In the Capitular Church of Prato, on a small tablet which is over the side door as one ascends the steps, Fra Filippo depicted the death of San Bernardo,[33] by the touch of whose bier many lame persons are restored to health. In this work are monks bewailing the loss of their master; and the exquisite grace of their heads, the truth and beauty with which their grief, and the plaintive expression of their weeping, are conveyed to the spectator, is a thing marvellous to behold. Some of the hoods and draperies of these monks have most beautiful folds, and the whole work merits the utmost praise for the excellence of its design, composition, and colouring, as well as for the grace and harmony of proportion displayed in it, completed as it is by the most delicate hand of Filippo. He was also appointed by the wardens of the same church, who desired to retain a memorial of him, to paint the chapel of the High Altar,[34] and here we have likewise good evidence of his power, for besides the excellence of the picture as a whole, there are certain heads and draperies in it which are most admirable. In this work Fra Filippo made the figures

[32] This picture (painted about the year 1453) is now in the office of the Hospital. Francesco di Marco (Datini) is not the principal figure, but is seen adoring a Virgin surrounded by saints.

[33] This work is not a small tablet, but is a large painting ordered by Geminiano Inghirami. See Milanesi, Vol. II., p. 622, note 3.

[34] The order to paint the choir of the cathedral (then Capitular Church) of Prato may have been given to Filippo as early as 1452, and the frescoes were probably not entirely finished in 1464. These dates are taken from documents cited by Milanesi. Geminiano Inghirami was *Proposto* when the frescoes were begun. Carlo de' Medici, son of Cosimo the Elder, succeeded Geminiano in office before they were finished. The portrait of Geminiano was painted in the *lunette* (death of San Bernardo), that of Carlo in the picture of the death of St. Stephen. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe that Filippo has painted his own portrait in the last figure at the right of the group of people who mourn the death of the saint. These two frescoes in the choir of Prato are Filippo's masterpieces, and in them he shows the whole scope of his capacity. They show comedy and tragedy side by side, for the Banquet of Herod is treated in a light vein, with charming episodes (see the two whispering figures), whereas in the Death of Stephen and its ordered masses of grave spectators Filippo follows Masaccio, is a precursor of Ghirlandajo and takes rank as a great master.

larger than life, and hereby instructed later artists in the mode of giving true grandeur to large figures. There are likewise certain figures clothed in vestments but little used at that time, whereby the minds of others were awakened, and artists began to depart from that sameness which should rather be called obsolete monotony than antique simplicity. In the same work are stories from the life of Santo Stefano, to whom the church is dedicated; they cover the wall on the right side, and consist of the Disputation, the Stoning, and the Death of the Protomartyr. In the first of these, where St. Stephen is disputing with the Jews, the countenance of the saint exhibits so much zeal and fervour, that it is difficult even to imagine; how much more then to give it expression: while, in the faces and attitudes of these Jews, their hatred and rage, with the anger they feel at finding themselves vanquished by the saint, are equally manifest. Still more forcibly has he depicted the brutal rage of those who slew the martyr with stones, which they grasp, some large, others smaller ones, with grinding teeth, horrible to behold, and with gestures of demoniac rage and cruelty. St. Stephen, calm and steadfast in the midst of their terrible violence, is seen with his face towards heaven, imploring the pardon of the Eternal Father for those who thus attack him, with the utmost piety and fervour. This variety of expression is certainly very fine, and is well calculated to teach students of art the value of imitative power, and the importance of being able to express clearly the affections and emotions of the characters represented. Fra Filippo devoted the most earnest attention to this point, as is seen in this work; he has given the disciples who are burying St. Stephen attitudes so full of dejection, and faces so deeply afflicted, so drowned in tears, that it is scarcely possible to look at them without feeling a sense of sorrow. On the other side of the chapel is the History of St. John the Baptist, his Birth, that is to say, his Preaching in the Wilderness, his Baptism, the Feast of Herod, and the Decapitation of the Saint. In the picture of the Preaching, the Divine Spirit

inspiring the speaker is most clearly manifest in his face, while the different emotions of hope, anxiety, gladness, and sorrow, of the crowd, women as well as men, who are listening around him, charmed and mastered by the force of his words, are equally well expressed. In the Baptism are beauty and goodness exemplified, and in the Feast of Herod, the splendour of the banquet, the address of Herodias, the astonishment of the guests, and their inexpressible sorrow when the head is presented on the charger, are rendered with admirable truth and effect. Among those present at the banquet are numerous figures in fine attitudes, exhibiting beautiful draperies and exquisite expressions of countenance. A portrait of Fra Filippo himself, taken with his own hand by help of a mirror, is one of them, and among the persons who bewail the death of St. Stephen, is the portrait of his disciple Fra Diamante, in a figure robed in black, and bearing the vestments of a bishop.[35] This work is indeed the best of all that he produced, as well for the many fine qualities displayed in it, as for the circumstance, that having made the figures somewhat larger than life, he encouraged those who came after him to enlarge their manner. Fra Filippo was indeed so highly estimated for his great gifts, that many circumstances in his life which were very blameable received pardon, and were partly placed out of view, in consideration of his extraordinary abilities In the work just described is the portrait of Messer Carlo, natural son of Cosimo de' Medici, who was rector of the church wherein it was executed, which had received large benefactions both from him and his house.

In the year 1463,[36] when Fra Filippo had completed this undertaking, he painted a picture in tempera for the church of San Jacopo, in Pistoja. The subject of this work, which is a very fine one, is the Annunciation, and contains the

[35] The Alinari, in their catalogue of a series of photographs taken from the frescoes, call the figure which stands directly beside Fra Filippo a portrait of Fra Diamante.

[36] 1464?

portrait of Messer Jacopo Bellucci,[37] taken from the life, and depicted with great animation. There is also a picture representing the Birth of the Virgin, by this master, in the house of Pulidoro Bracciolini, and in the hall of the Council of Eight, in Florence, is a picture of the Virgin with the Child in her arms, painted in tempera, on a half circle.[38] In the house of Ludovico Capponi, likewise, there is another picture of the Virgin, which is exceedingly beautiful;[39] and a work of the same master is in the possession of Bernardo Vecchietti, a Florentine noble of so much integrity and excellence that my words cannot do justice to his merits. The picture is small, the subject Sant' Agostino occupied with his studies; an exceedingly beautiful painting.[40] But still finer is a figure of St. Jerome doing penance, of similar size, and by the same hand, which is now in the *guardaroba* of Duke Cosimo:[41] for if Fra Filippo displayed excellence in his paintings generally, still more admirable were his smaller pictures; in these he surpassed

[37] This work has not been traced with certainty.

[38] In the Berlin Gallery are two Madonnas, but they are not identified with this picture by Dr. Bode or Dr. Meyer. The Bracciolini picture is not known with any certainty. Morelli, in his Italian Masters, admits as genuine pictures by Fra Lippo Lippi the following works in Rome: An Annunciation in the private collection of Miss Hertz, an Annunciation in the Doria Gallery, and a triptych in the Lateran with a Coronation of the Virgin in the central panel and a portrait of Carlo Marsuppini in one of the *sportelli*. In Munich, Morelli catalogues an Annunciation and a Madonna with the infant Christ; in the National Gallery, three works, an Annunciation, a Vision of S. Bernard, and a John the Baptist with six other saints; in Oxford, a little panel of the marriage of Saints Joachim and Anna; in the Louvre, only one picture, a Madonna and Child with two priests and six angels. Besides these there are the two panels of the Turin Academy representing the Fathers of the Church, and a half dozen pictures in Florence. (MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger catalogue fourteen in their *Florence* as among the works of the master in the churches and galleries of the latter city.) Morelli says that Vienna, Dresden, and Madrid have no pictures by the master, but admits that Berlin possesses several genuine works by Lippi, and calls No. 69 in that gallery the most characteristic of them.

[39] Said by Milanesi to have been sold to Prince Demidoff, and then resold by him.

[40] In the Uffizi.

[41] This picture is lost.

himself, imparting to them a grace and beauty, than which nothing finer could be imagined: examples of this may be seen in the predellas of all the pictures painted by him. He was indeed an artist of such power, that in his own time he was surpassed by none, and even in our days there are very few superior to him: therefore it is that he has not only been always eulogized by Michael Angelo, but in many things has been imitated by that master.

For the church of San Domenico-vecchio, in Perugia,[42] Fra Filippo painted a picture, which has since been placed on the high altar; it represents the Virgin, with San Piero, San Paolo, San Ludovico, and Sant' Antonio the abbot. The Cavaliere, Messer Alessandro degli Alessandri, also a friend of Fra Filippo, caused him to paint a picture[43] for the church of his country palace at Vincigliata, on the heights of Fiesole, the subject a San Lorenzo and other saints. In this work he depicted the portraits of Alessandro degli Alessandri and his two sons. Fra Filippo was very partial to men of cheerful character, and lived for his own part in a very joyous fashion.

This master instructed Fra Diamante in the art of painting, and the latter executed many works in the church of the Carmine at Prato. He attained to great perfection in the imitation of his master's manner, and thereby obtained much credit for himself. Among those who studied with Fra Filippo, were Sandro Botticello, Pisello, and Jacopo del Sellajo, a Florentine, who painted two pictures for the church of San Friano, and one in distemper for that of the Carmine, with many other artists whom he always instructed in the most friendly manner. He lived creditably by his labours, and expended very large sums on the pleasures to

[42] This picture was ordered in 1451 by the Perugian Antonio del Branca; he was dissatisfied and had a lawsuit about it. There has been some controversy regarding fragments of an altar-piece now in the chapter house of S. Domenico, but Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle do not believe them to be by Filippo, and nothing certain is known about the matter.

[43] In Casa Alessandri, Borgo degli Albizzi, Florence.

which he continued to addict himself, even to the end of his life. Fra Filippo was requested by the commune of Spoleto, through the medium of Cosimo de' Medici, to paint the chapel in their principal church[44]—that of Our Lady—and this work, with the assistance of Fra Diamante, he was conducting to a successful termination, when, being overtaken by death, he was prevented from completing it. It was said that the libertinism of his conduct occasioned this catastrophe, and that he was poisoned by certain persons related to the object of his love.

Fra Filippo finished the course of his life in the year 1438, being then fifty-seven years old.[45] He left Filippo his son to the guardianship of Fra Diamante, with whom the child, then ten years old, returned to Florence, and was by him instructed in the art of painting. Fra Diamante took three hundred ducats with him from Spoleto, which remained to be received from the commune for the work performed there, and with this sum he purchased a certain property for himself, appropriating but little of it to the child. The latter was placed with Sandro Botticello, who was at that time considered an excellent master in painting, and the old man was buried in a tomb of red and white marble, which the people of Spoleto caused to be erected for him in the church which he was painting.

[44] The principal work in this series (1467–1469) is a vast fresco in the semi-dome of the cathedral at Spoleto. It is dignified and has a certain grandeur which is enhanced by its size. Probably no fresco by a Tuscan master is so rich in color, but this is largely because a liberal use of strong blues and gilding has been followed by the tempering effect of disintegration and the flaking off of the plaster. The subject, which is immensely decorative from its almost Gothic abundance of gilded patterns in the costumes, represents a Coronation of the Virgin, who is surrounded by a great number of angels and saints. Below upon the walls are the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Assumption. Fra Diamante finished the work in 1470.

[45] He died in 1469, at the age of sixty-three years, and probably from natural causes, for it is most improbable that he should have been killed by the relatives of Lucrezia, to whom he had been for many years married and unless some other woman was "the object of his love" referred to by Vasari, we must dismiss the question of poison.

The death of Fra Filippo caused much regret to many among his friends, more particularly to Cosimo de' Medici and Pope Eugenius IV.[46] The latter had offered in his lifetime to give him a dispensation,[47] that he might make Lucrezia di Francesco Buti his legitimate wife, but Fra Filippo, desiring to retain the power of living after his own fashion, and of indulging his love of pleasure as might seem good to him, did not care to accept that offer.

During the pontificate of Sixtus IV., Lorenzo de' Medici was sent ambassador from the Florentines, and took the journey to Spoleto, for the purpose of demanding the remains of Fra Filippo from that Commune, to the end that they might be deposited in the Florentine cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore. But the Spoletines replied that they were but poorly provided with ornaments, above all with distinguished men; they consequently begged permission as a favour to retain them, that they might honour themselves therewith, adding, that since they possessed so many great men in Florence as almost to have a superfluity, they might content themselves without this one, and that reply was all that Lorenzo received. But being still resolved to do all the honour that he possibly could to Fra Filippo, he sent Filippino, the son of the latter, to Rome, to the cardinal of Naples, that he might paint a chapel for that prelate, and on this occasion Filippino, passing through Spoleto, was commissioned by Lorenzo to construct[48] a sepulchre of marble over the sacristy and beneath the organ. On this work he expended two hundred ducats, which were paid by Nofri Tornabuoni, master of the bank to the Medici. Lorenzo likewise caused the following epigram to be made by

[46] Cosimo and Eugenius both died *before* Filippo Lippi.

[47] Milanesi proves that, on the contrary, he accepted this dispensation granted him by Pope Pius II. (not Eugenius IV.), and that he thereby, for the sake of Lucrezia, forfeited all those ecclesiastical revenues which had been settled on him for life. His letters prove that he was often in financial difficulties, and sometimes in actual want, though he was an industrious and popular painter.

[48] In 1488.

Messer Agnolo Poliziano, which was engraved on the tomb in letters after the antique :—

" *Conditus hic ego sum picturæ fama Philippus*
Nulli ignota meæ est gratia mira manus;
Artefices potui digitis animare colores
Speratuque animos fallere voce diu:
Ipsa meis stupuit natura expressa figuris,
Meque suis fassa est artibus esse parem.
Marmoreo tumulo Medices Laurentius hic me
Condidit, ante humili pulvere tectus eram."[49]

[49] An intense quality of *human sympathy* made Filippo Lippi one of the greatest artists of his time ; he sympathized with everything, was at once eminently naturalistic, reproducing the grimace of a street urchin, and eminently decorative, setting the lilies a row in his Coronation of the Virgin of Saint Ambrose, and multiplying them against the gilded rays and brocaded patternings of the vestments in his other and more solemn Coronation of Spoleto. Robert Browning, in his poem of Fra Lippo Lippi, makes him say truly of the external world,

" To me it means intensely and means good."

And M. Lafenestre, in his *Peinture Italienne*, has felt profoundly the "warm expansion of sympathy" with which Fra Lippo brought the human type into art, in exchange for that conventional type which had been called divine, making Madonna a real mother of a real baby, and giving to sacred personages, " without scruple as without coarseness," the features of living men and women. His color is warm and transparent, and, says M. Lafenestre, " in the midst of a grave, severe school he sounds a joyous note, which echoes longer in Venice than in his native Tuscany, and which is the first utterance of modern painting." He is a realist and an idealist at once, forgetting the grand style of Masaccio in his attempt, a successful attempt, to render the grace and life of the adolescent figures in his Feast of Herod at Prato and again yielding a precedent for the stateliness of Ghirlandajo in his mourning groups about the dead Saint Stephen. He often sacrifices precision to vivacity and variety, caring more about expression than pure form and falling frequently into a mannerism shown in his flattened and widened skulls and broad faces, but conquering his audience of the fifteenth as of the nineteenth century by his unaffected sincerity and his joyous realism. As he had humanized Madonna he domesticated Art, reducing the altar-piece to the *genre* picture. He first painted those *tondi* in round frames which gradually replaced the more solemn triptych and admitted of a more familiar treatment of sacred themes. His greatest works are his frescoes of Prato, for his huge, solemn semi-dome of Spoleto has suffered too much from time and damp and candle-smoke to be considered his masterpiece ; but the things which have made him famous are his more intimate and more familiar easel pictures, his Madonnas of the Pitti and Uffizi and his great altar-piece of the Academy.

ANDREA DAL CASTAGNO,[1] OF THE MUGELLO, AND DOMENICO VENIZIANO, PAINTERS

[Born 1390?; died 1457. Born during the first ten years of the fifteenth century; died 1461.]

HOW reprehensible is the vice of envy in a distinguished artist: envy, which never should be permitted to exist in any mind. Above all, how fearful and horrible a crime is that of seeking, under the guise of friendship, to annihilate the fame and honour, nay, to extinguish the life of another! How atrocious such a crime is no words can possibly express, the depravity of the action, rendering all power of language, however eloquent, inadequate to describe it. Therefore, without further insisting on that matter, I will only say, that in men, capable of such wickedness, there dwells a spirit, not merely savage and inhuman, but wholly cruel and fiend-like; nay, so utterly destitute of all worth are such beings, that they no longer merit the name of men, or even of animals, but are altogether unfit to breathe the breath of life. For, inasmuch as a virtuous emulation and the effort to acquire glory and honour, by surpassing men more distinguished than himself, is praiseworthy in the artist, as necessary to his progress and useful to society; insomuch, nay much more, is the wickedness of envy to be scorned and vituperated; envy, which, not being able to endure the praise and glory of another, is therefore resolved to deprive him of life, whom it cannot despoil of honour, as was done by the unhappy Andrea dal Castagno,

[1] Andrea di Bartolommeo di Simone, called Andrea dal Castagno (Andrea degl' Impiccati by Filarete, and Andrein by Giovanni Santi in his *Elogio Storico*), was the son of a laborer and small proprietor of S. Andrea a Linari, in the *contado* of Florence.

who was in truth, excellent as a painter, and a great master in design, but was still more remarkable for the rancour and envious hatred by which he was inspired towards other painters, insomuch that, by the weight and darkness of his crime, he has inhumed and obscured the splendour of his talents.

This master, having been born[2] at a small farm called Castagno, situate in the Mugello, a district of the Florentine territory, adopted that name as his surname when he came to take up his abode in Florence, which happened on this wise. His father died while he was in his first childhood, and left him to the care of an uncle, who set him to herd his cattle. In this occupation he spent several years, displaying great readiness and intelligence ; he was besides so strong and powerful that he was not only capable of guarding and keeping his cattle in subjection, but also of protecting the pastures, and whatever else was placed within his care, from all attack and aggression. One day, while employed in this manner, he was seeking shelter from the rain, when he chanced to enter a house where one of those painters of the district, who make pictures for small prices, was painting an oratory or tabernacle, for a countryman. Whereupon, Andrea, who had never before seen a thing of the kind, was seized with instant admiration, and began to look attentively at the work, and examine the manner of its execution ; as he did so, a sudden inclination was awakened in him, and this became so passionate a desire for art, that he began without loss of time to scratch figures of animals on the walls and on stones with the point of his knife, and to draw them with pieces of charcoal, in such a manner that he caused no little amazement in those who beheld them. The report of Andrea's new studies was soon bruited about among the country people, and reached the ears (as his good fortune would have it) of a Florentine gentleman called Bernardetto de' Medici, whose property was situated in that neighbourhood. This gentleman then desired to know the boy,

[2] In 1390.

and having seen him, and found that he replied to his questions with considerable intelligence, he asked him if he would like to become a painter. To this Andrea made answer, that nothing could happen to him that would be so welcome, nor would any thing please him so much; wherefore, to the end that he might be made perfect in the art, Bernardetto took the boy with him to Florence, where he engaged him to work with one of those masters who were then esteemed the best.[3]

Thenceforward Andrea continued to practise the art of painting, and devoting himself entirely to the studies connected therewith: he displayed very great intelligence in the difficulties of his calling, and more particularly in design. In the colouring of his works he was not so happy; here there was a something crude and harsh, which detracted greatly from the beauty and grace of the picture, depriving it of the charm of softness, which in his colouring was never to be found. He displayed extraordinary power in the movements of his figures, and great force in the heads, whether male or female, giving them aspects of much gravity and an extreme earnestness of expression. He drew them also exceedingly well. Among the earliest works of this master, are those in San Miniato at Monte, which he executed in his first youth. They are in the cloister as you ascend * from the church to go into the convent; and here he painted a fresco, wherein is depicted the parting of San Miniato and San Cresci from their father and mother.[4] In San Benedotto, a most beautiful monastery situate without the Pinti Gate, there were many pictures by Andrea dal Castagno, both in the church and convent, but of these I need make no further mention, since they were destroyed in

* *Scende*, here translated ascend, means descend.

[3] There is some doubt as to where Andrea obtained his knowledge of art. Masaccio, Masolino, and Angelico are suggested as possible masters by various authorities, but Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think that he is a product of the school which produced Uccello and Pesellino. He was matriculated as painter May 30, 1445.

[4] These works have been destroyed.

the siege of Florence. In the city itself, and in the monastery belonging to the Monaci degli Angeli, Andrea dal Castagno painted a Crucifix * (which is still there), in the first cloister, and opposite to the principal door, with Our Lady, San Giovanni, San Benedetto, and San Romualdo : and at the end of the cloister which is above the kitchen-garden, he painted another, nearly similar, the heads only, with a few other smaller particulars, being slightly varied.[5]

In the church of Santa Trinità, near the chapel of Maestro Luca, this artist painted a Sant' Andrea.[6] For Pandolfo Pandolfini,[7] he depicted certain illustrious persons in one of the halls of his palace at Legnara.† And for the Brotherhood of the Evangelist he painted a Banner, to be carried in their processions, which was esteemed to be a very beautiful thing.[8] In the convent belonging to the Servites in the same city, are certain frescoes by this master, painted in three shallow niches of different chapels. One of these chapels, is that dedicated to San Giuliano,[9] where there are stories from the life of the Saint, with a considerable number of figures and a dog, foreshortened, which has been greatly extolled. Above these, in the chapel of San Girolamo (St. Jerome), that saint is delineated, his body wasted, and with the head shaven ; the figure well drawn and very carefully painted. Over it is the Trinity with a Crucifix, which is also foreshortened, and so well done, that Andrea

* For Crucifix read Crucifixion.

† Read Legnaia for Legnara.

[5] A Crucifixion has been recently freed from whitewash, but Milanesi (Vol. II., p. 669) does not believe that it is by Andrea. The second Crucifixion is lost.

[6] This work is lost.

[7] For some time these portraits were preserved in the Bargello, but in 1891 they were carried to the convent of Santa Apollonia, where they now are. They include full-length figures of the famous Pippo Spano (Filippo Scolari), of Farinata degli Uberti, of Niccolo Acciajuoli, The Cumæan Sibyl, Esther, Tomyris, Dante Alighieri, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

[8] This banner is lost.

[9] The upper half of a figure of San Giuliano still exists behind a painting on canvas in the Feroni chapel at the right on entering the church. See Milanesi, Vol. II., p. 671, note 1.

merits great praise for that work, he having executed the foreshortening in a much better and more modern manner than any master among those who preceded him had done. But this fresco can no longer be seen, a picture having been suspended over it by the Montaguti family. In the third chapel (which stands beside the last-mentioned, the place of which is beneath the organ), erected at the command of Messer Orlando de' Medici, Andrea painted Lazarus, Martha, and Mary Magdalen.[10] For the Nuns of San Giuliano, he executed a Crucifix * in fresco, over the door, with figures of Our Lady, San Domenico, San Giuliano, and San Giovanni, a picture which is considered one of the best that Andrea ever painted, and which has been commended by all artists.[11]

In Santa Croce, there is a work by this master in the chapel of the Cavalcanti family, a San Giovan Batista, and San Francesco namely, both considered very beautiful figures.[12] But one which caused astonishment in all artists, was that in the new cloister of the convent of Santa Croce: at the head of it, that is to say, opposite to the door: where Andrea dal Castagno painted a fresco, representing Christ bound to the column and scourged, which is most beautiful in itself; but in addition, there is a Loggia, with the columns drawn in perspective, the cross-vaulting and ribs diminishing so finely, and the walls (partitioned into oval compartments) being depicted with so much art and knowledge, that he proved himself to understand the difficulties of perspective as perfectly as he did the art of design in painting.[13] The attitudes of the men who are scourging the

* Read Crucifixion.

[10] These works are lost.

[11] There is still a Crucifixion in the *lunette* over the door, but it is evidently by a painter of the sixteenth century. There are no figures as Vasari describes. See Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in Italy, II., 310.

[12] This work is still in Santa Croce. Morelli ascribes these saints to Domenico Veneziano. See Morelli's Italian Masters in German Galleries, p. 205, note. Dr. Richter considers that these frescoes show the characteristics of Baldovinetti.

[13] This work is lost, and was replaced by a seventeenth-century painting.

Saviour in this fresco, are exceedingly fine, and display extraordinary force; their faces betray their rage and hatred, while that of Christ is equally expressive of patience and humility. In the person of the Saviour, which is fast bound to the column with cords, it would seem that Andrea desired to exhibit the suffering endured by the flesh, while at the same time, the Divinity concealed in that body makes itself manifest in a certain nobility and splendour, by which Pilate, who is sitting among his councillors, appears to be moved, and seeks to discover an opportunity for setting him free. This picture is, in fine, of such merit, that were it not for the carelessness which has permitted it to be scratched and injured by children and simple folks, who have maltreated the head, arms, and almost the entire persons of the Jews, as though they would thereby avenge the injuries inflicted on the Saviour, this work would, without doubt, be the most beautiful of all that Andrea executed. Had nature conferred on this artist the gift of imparting softness to his colouring, as liberally as she bestowed on him those of invention and design, he would have justly merited to be considered most admirable.

In Santa Maria del Fiore, Andrea dal Castagno depicted the likeness of Niccolò da Tolentino[14] on horseback; and while engaged on this work, a child who was passing by, shook the ladder on which he stood; when Andrea, like a brutally violent man as he was, got down and ran after him to the corner of the Pazzi. Beneath the charnel-house in the cemetery of Santa Maria Nuova, he painted a figure of Sant' Andrea, which gave so much satisfaction that he was at once appointed to paint a picture of the Last Supper in the refectory used by the servants and other officials of the

[14] This fresco, which is still in the church, was transferred to canvas in 1842 by Rizzoli. There is a study for it in the collection of drawings in the Uffizi. It was probably Andrea's last extant work, as it was executed in 1455–1456. Niccolò di' Giovanni de' Maurucci, Captain-General of the Florentines, died a little after 1433. The figure of the man is ungainly in its foreshortening, and while the belly of the horse is seen from underneath, the head is painted as from on a level with it.

house.[15] These works obtained him great favour with the superintendent of the hospital and the Portinari family; and procured him a commission to decorate a portion of the principal chapel with pictures; a second part being confided to Alesso Baldovinetti; and the then renowned painter, Domenico Veneziano,[16] being engaged to execute the third; he having been invited to Florence on account of the new method, which he had acquired, of painting in oil.[17] Each of these artists, therefore, gave his attention to his own division of the work, but Andrea was in the highest degree envious of Domenico, because, although he felt conscious that he was himself superior to the Venetian painter in design, he was, nevertheless, enraged to see that he, who was a foreigner, received marks of esteem and friendship from his own fellow citizens. So powerful indeed were these emotions of anger and bitterness, that Andrea began to consider

[15] A Crucifixion in the ancient Convent degli Angioli, a dependency of the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, is so feeble a work that Milanesi does not believe it to be by Andrea. A second and better Crucifixion has been carried to a room on the Piazza S. Maria Nuova, opposite the hospital. See Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, pp. 253–254.

[16] Little is known of Domenico Veneziano, called in the records "*Maestro Domenicho di Bartolomeio da Venezia*," and hardly any of his works remain. His works in S. Maria Nuova have perished, but Vasari's statement that he painted them in oils, seems to be corroborated by the entries in the hospital books for linseeed oil furnished to the painter. This, however, does not prove that he had learned the method of the Van Eycks, either from Antonello da Messina (who does not appear to have visited the north of Italy at this time), or from anyone else, since the process of the famous Flemish brothers consisted in much more than the mere use of linseed oil. The latter medium goes back to the days of Cennini, and it is probable that Domenico only used the oil furnished him in considerable quantities, in preparation of colors for his fresco work, according to a method which had long been employed. See Milanesi (Vol. II., p. 685), *Commentario alle Vite di Andrea dal Castagno e Domenico Veneziano*, where he assures us, that although much linseed oil was charged to Domenico upon the books of the convent, while he was painting the chapel of Sant' Egidio, no traces of it can be found in his panel picture once in Santa Lucia de Magnoli, and now in the Uffizi. It must be added that Domenico's pupil, Piero della Francesca, succeeded admirably with the new vehicle.

[17] Domenico Veneziano did not paint in S. Maria Nuova simultaneously with Andrea. The former worked there in 1445, and the latter began his fresco in 1451.

if he could not by one means or another remove this competitor from his sight. Andrea dal Castagno was no less subtle in dissimulation than clever as a painter; he could assume a cheerful countenance at his pleasure, had a ready tongue, was a man of a bold spirit, and was as decided in acting as in resolving; he had the same dispositions towards others as towards Domenico; and when he perceived a fault in the work of an artist, would mark it secretly with his nail. But when, in his youth, his own works were censured by any one, he would fall on such critics with blows and other injurious retorts, giving them to understand that he was always both able and willing to avenge himself in one mode or another on all who might offend him.

But before we speak of the paintings in the above-named chapel, we will say a few words of Domenico. This master, in company with Piero della Francesca, had executed different works in the Sacristy of Santa Maria, at Loretto,[18] before repairing to Florence; and these paintings, displaying much grace and beauty, has caused his fame to be known in the last-named city, a result to which other works, in various places (in Perugia, for example, where he had painted a chamber in the palace of the Baglioni family,[19] which palace is now destroyed), had also contributed. Being invited to Florence, therefore, the first thing that he did was to paint a Tabernacle in fresco, at the corner of the Carnesecchi, in the angle of the two roads, leading, the one to the new, the other to the old Piazza of Santa Maria Novella.[20] The subject of this work is a Vir-

[18] Now covered with frescoes by Luca Signorelli.

[19] He painted there twenty-five figures of men illustrious in war, philosophy, and law. For the inscriptions, etc., see Ariodante Fabbretti's *Note e documenti alle Vite de' Capitani venturieri dell' Umbria* (cited by Milanesi).

[20] Among the few existing works of Domenico are a *tempera* altar-piece, formerly in the Church of S. Lucia dei Magnoli, Florence, now in the Uffizi, and a transferred painting, originally on the Tabernacle, as described by Vasari. This Virgin and Child, and two heads of saints, are now in the National Gallery, London. The picture from Santa Lucia is a Virgin and Child, with Saints Lucy, Nicholas, Francis of Assisi, and John the Baptist. For a *pre-*

gin surrounded by various Saints, and as it pleased the Florentines greatly, and was much commended by the artists of the time, as well as by the citizens, this picture awakened still more bitter rage and envy against poor Domenico, in the ill-regulated mind of Andrea, who determined to accomplish by treachery the purpose which he could not bring about openly, without manifest danger to himself. He, therefore, affected a great friendship for Domenico, and the latter, being of a good and kindly disposition, returned his pretended cordiality with sincere good will, and willingly accepted his advances, Andrea seeming to him a clever and amusing person. This friendship, therefore, on the one side feigned, on the other sincere, proceeding to intimacy, Domenico, who was very fond of music, and played on the lute, passed the greater part of his evenings with Andrea, when they amused themselves in company, or went together to serenade their "inamorate;" all which greatly delighted Domenico, who sincerely regarding Andrea, instructed him in the method of painting in oil, which was at that time not known in Tuscany.

Things being thus, Andrea, to relate what occurred in due order, depicted an Annunciation on the portion of the chapel appropriated to him; this work is esteemed to be very beautiful, and is much admired for the attitude of the Angel, whom he represents to be hovering in the air, a thing which had not previously been done. But a much finer work is that in which he has depicted the Virgin ascending the steps of the temple, whereon are grouped many figures of mendicants: among these is one lifting his cruse, with which he smites one of his fellows on the head, an extremely fine figure, as indeed are all the others. Andrea, having bestowed much study on the work, and being incited by his emulation with Domenico, finished every part with great care. In the same picture is an octagonal temple, in the midst of a piazza, drawn in perspective: the building is

della panel in the Berlin Museum, ascribed to Domenico Veneziano, see Dr. Bode, *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, IV., p. 89.

isolated, it exhibits numerous columns, niches, &c., and the principal front is beautifully adorned with statues painted to imitate marbles. Around the piazza, magnificent buildings, in great variety, are represented, and on one side of these, the shadow of the temple, the scene, being one of sunlight, falls with admirable effect, all the difficulties incident to the subject being handled with infinite judgment.

On his part Maestro Domenico depicted * the Visit of Joachim to his wife Santa Anna, and beneath this is the birth of Our Lady; the place represented being a chamber decorated with great splendour. In that picture is a beautiful Child, striking on the door of the room with a hammer: the action of this figure is full of grace. The Marriage of the Virgin follows, and in this part of the work are many portraits from the life, among them those of Messer Bernardetto de' Medici, constable of the Florentines, wearing a red barett-cap or morion; of Bernardino Guadagni, who was Gonfaloniere; and of Folco Portinari, with other members of his family. The master has likewise presented a Dwarf breaking a staff, and in this action also there is extraordinary animation displayed; there are besides several female figures, wearing vestments such as were customary at the period, all painted with exceeding grace and beauty: this work, however, remained unfinished, for causes which will be related hereafter.

Andrea, meanwhile, had painted the Death of Our Lady in oil on the front of the Chapel; and, whether moved by emulation of Domenico, or simply by the desire to make himself known for the able artist that he certainly was, he bestowed inexpressible care and pains on the work, more particularly on the bier, foreshortened, within which the Virgin is seen lying dead, and which, though not more than a braccio and a half in length, appears to be fully three. Around the bier are the Apostles; and these figures are treated in such a manner, that, although the satisfaction

* The translator has omitted two words here. Read "Maestro Domenico depicted *in oil* the Visit," etc.

they feel at seeing their Madonna borne to heaven by Jesus Christ is manifest in their faces, there is yet to be perceived the bitterness of their regret at being left on earth without her. Among these figures of the Apostles are mingled Angels, who bear lighted torches; they have beautiful expression in the heads, and are so well executed as to make it obvious, that Andrea knew how to manage the colours in oil, as well as his competitor Domenico. In this picture Andrea painted the portraits of Messer Rinaldo degli Albizzi, Puccio Pucci, Falganaccio,[21] by whom the liberation of Cosimo de' Medici was effected, and Federigo Malavolti, who kept the keys of the Alberghetto.[22] He likewise depicted the resemblance of Messer Bernardo di Domenico della Volta, superintendent of the hospital belonging to the convent of Santa Maria Nuova; this figure is on its knees, and is so well done that it might be supposed to breathe. On a sort of medallion, at the commencement of the work, Andrea dal Castagno placed his own portrait also, with a face like that of Judas Iscariot, whom he did indeed resemble, both in person and character.[23]

Having brought his work thus far towards a successful termination, Andrea, blinded by envy at the praises which he heard given to the abilities of Domenico, determined to rid himself of his presence, and after having reflected on various methods of accomplishing this evil design, he at length fixed on one, which he put in execution in the following manner :—

One evening, in the summer time, Domenico, taking his lute, as was his custom, went forth from Santa Maria Nuova, leaving Andrea in his room drawing, the latter

[21] This Fargagnaccio, or Ferganaccio, effected Cosimo de' Medici's release when he was imprisoned in the Palazzo Vecchio by bribing the *Gonfaloniere*. Fargagnaccio's real name was Antonio di Vieri.

[22] This *Alberghetto*, "Little Inn," was a small room in the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio where Cosimo was imprisoned; the room was hardly big enough for a man to lie down in.

[23] A fresco of the Crucifixion by Andrea exists in the neighboring *loggia* of the Hospital of the Oblate. See notes 15 and 30.

having refused his invitation to accompany him to their amusements as usual, under the pretext that he had to prepare certain drawings of importance. Domenico, having thus gone forth alone to his recreations, Andrea, disguising his person, set himself to wait for his companion's return at the corner of a street; and when Domenico, on his way home, arrived at the place, he fell upon him with a certain leaden weight, and therewith crushed the lute and chest of his victim with repeated blows. But even this did not appear to him sufficient for his purpose, and with the same weapon he struck his victim heavily on the head; then, leaving him lying on the ground, he returned to his room in Santa Maria Nuova, where, having locked the door, he sat down to his drawing as he had been left by Domenico.[24]

Meanwhile the noise had been heard, and the servants hastening out, and, finding what had happened, went first to call Andrea, and to relate the bad news to the traitor and murderer himself; who, running to where the others all stood around Domenico, was not to be consoled, nor did he cease from crying, "Alas my brother! alas my brother!" Finally, the murdered man expired in his arms, and in spite of all the efforts made to discover who had committed that homicide, it was never known, nor would the truth ever have been made manifest, if Andrea himself, finding his death approaching, had not divulged it in confession.

In San Miniato-fra-le-Torri, in Florence, Andrea dal Castagno painted a picture, the subject of which is an Assump-

[24] Andrea dal Castagno died August 19, 1457; his supposed victim, Domenico Veneziano, died May 15, 1461. In spite of the dates with which he refutes the story, Milanesi adds a long argument showing the unreasonableness as well as the falseness of a tale which has for four hundred years darkened the memory of a famous painter. One writer after another has seen in the fierce faces, the *spadassino* swagger of Andrea's figures, the confirmation of his ferocity and ungovernable passion, and Padre della Valle has even accounted for the violation of the seal of confession in Vasari's story by the supposition that Andrea asked his confessor to make known his guilt. An artist named Domenico di Matteo was, however, murdered in Florence in 1443, and it is possible that the similarity of names gave rise to the tradition of the assassination of Domenico Veneziano.

tion of the Virgin, with two figures;[25] and in a tabernacle at Lanchetta, beyond the gate of the Croce, he painted another, also representing Our Lady.[26] The same artist depicted the effigies of certain celebrated men in the house of the Carducci family, now belonging to the Pandolfini.[27] These are partly imaginary and partly portraits; among them are Filippo Spano degli Scolari, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and others. At the Scarperia in Magello, he painted an undraped figure of Charity over the door of the vicar's palace; it was a very beautiful thing, but has been destroyed. In the year 1478, when Giuliano de' Medici was killed, and Lorenzo his brother wounded in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, by the Pazzi and others, their adherents and fellow conspirators; it was resolved by the Signoria, that all who had taken part in the plot should be painted as traitors on the façade of the palace of the Podesta: whereupon, the work being offered to Andrea dal Castagno, he, as the servant of, and much beholden to the house of Medici, accepted the office very willingly; and having set himself to the work, he executed it in such a manner that it was a perfect wonder.[28] It would indeed not be possible adequately to describe the art and judgment displayed in these figures, for the most part copied from the life, and hung up by the feet in the strangest attitudes, which were infinitely varied and exceedingly fine. The approbation which this work obtained from the whole city, but more especially from those who were well versed in the art of painting, caused the artist to be no longer named Andrea dal Castagno, but he was ever afterwards called Andrea degl' Impiccati.[29]

[25] This work, executed in 1456, is lost.

[26] No tabernacle in Andrea's style exists.

[27] Vasari here doubtless refers to the works executed for the palace at Legnaia.

[28] This is a chronological error. In 1434, after Cosimo de' Medici's return from exile, Andrea painted the leaders of the adverse faction, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, the Peruzzi, and others, hanging head downward on the walls of the Bargello. Andrea died in 1457, and it was Botticelli who, in 1478, gibbeted in effigy the principal plotters in the Pazzi conspiracy.

[29] Andrea of the Hanged, or Gibbeted.

This master lived in a very honourable manner;[30] but as he spent freely, more particularly in dress and liberal housekeeping, he left but little property; when, at the age of seventy-one, he departed to another life.[31] A short time only had elapsed after his death, before the impious crime he had committed against Domenico, who had been so truly his friend, became known, and he was buried, not with honourable obsequies, but with marks of disgrace, in Santa Maria Nuova, where, in his fifty-sixth year, the unfortunate Domenico had also been buried.[32] The work which the last-mentioned master had commenced in Santa Maria Nuova remained incomplete, nor was it ever finished. The picture of the high altar of Santa Lucia de' Bardi[33] is also by Domenico Veniziano, and in this he has represented Our Lady with the Child in her arms, San Giovanni Batista, San Niccolò, San Francesco, and Santa Lucia, an admirably executed picture, and one which the master had brought to the utmost perfection but a short time before his death.[34]

[30] Vasari does not mention the Last Supper in the Monastery of Sant' Apollonia, nor the other works in that building (see note 7), which is now a government museum, nor the fresco of the Crucifixion in the *loggia* of the Hospital of the Oblate near Santa Maria Nuova.

[31] Andrea died August 19, 1457, probably of the plague.

[32] Domenico was buried in S. Piero Gattolino.

[33] Now in the Uffizi; it is referred to in note 20. No. 372 in the same gallery, a portrait of a man, is accredited to Andrea, as are three pictures in the Florentine Academy—St. Jerome, St. John the Baptist, and St. Mary Magdalen; these are the three panels of a triptych once in the church of San Procolo. See Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, pp. 189, 190, 191.

[34] Decision and force are the marking characteristics of Andrea dal Castagno, with a bold, firm outline and a certain hardness of bright, crude color. His soldiers are *bravi* (see the Pippo Spano and Farinata), who stand firmly with legs braced wide apart like the swashbucklers of Signorelli. Andrea's apostles, too, are somewhat brutal in their excess of strength and vigor, and warriors and apostles alike have followed the plough. They are peasants, with coarse, tumbled hair, and strong, roughly hewn faces, but they impress us with the sincerity and directness of their creator. The Last Supper in the convent of Sant' Apollonia, together with the Crucifixion and the nine portraits of heroes, heroines, and scholars, make up a kind of museum of Andrea's works in Florence. Dr. Richter gives this painter the high place of a direct precursor of Leonardo da Vinci, in reference to the latter's Last Supper, claiming that Andrea's *cenacolo* of Sant' Apollonia influenced Leonardo more than

The disciples of Andrea dal Castagno were Jacopo del Corso, who was a tolerably good master; Pisanello, Marchino, Piero del Pollaiuolo, and Giovanni da Rovezzano.

did any other of the countless representations of the same subject. For four centuries the accusation that he murdered, to steal his secret, the friend who outlived him for years, has clouded the memory of Andrea dal Castagno, and so colored the prejudice of his critics that decision and force have counted in him as unqualified brutality. But the story is not only false as a whole, but improbable in all its details. If Domenico Veniziano understood the use of the oil medium it is unlikely that he made a secret of it and kept it from Andrea. The adoption of oil as a vehicle was very gradual, but this was probably because artists distrusted it as a medium, and feared to undertake large works with it until experiments had been made. Such experiments, in order to be thorough, had to stand the test of many years before they could be accounted final, and it was this distrust and inexperience of artists in general, rather than any profound secrecy upon the part of particular painters, that made the complete adoption of the oil medium a tardy one. As for stealing Domenico's secret, Andrea was one of the last men to make far-reaching plans or to take anything at second-hand, since he belongs emphatically to the group of painters who were straightforward in the practice of their art, even to the extent of unpleasant directness. His principles entitle him to a higher place than does his performance, and he stands with those great Florentines whose earnest observation of the shapes of things, of their outline and relief, laid the foundation of scientific attainment upon which the school of Tuscan art was based so solidly.

GENTILE DA FABRIANO AND VITTORE PISANELLO, OF VERONA, PAINTERS [1]

[Born 1370?; died 1428 (see note 3).] [Born 1380?; died 1456.]

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[1] Gentile di Niccolo di Giovanni di Maso was born, about 1370, at Fabriano, in the March of Ancona, went with Jacopo Bellini to Florence in 1421, and was enrolled as painter in Florence in 1422. It is not known who his master was. Allegretto Nuzi, of Fabriano, may have given him some instructions, but he died when Gentile was fifteen years old. See Milanesi, Vol. III., pp. 15–16.

I., 425. Silvio Marco Spaventi, *Vittor Pisano detto Pisanello pittore e medaglista veronese della prima meta del Secolo XV.*, Verona, 1892.

A VERY great advantage is possessed by the man who, after the death of some distinguished person, advanced to fame and honour by the exercise of rare gifts and abilities, shall follow in the path thus prepared for him; for he has but to pursue the trace of the master in some slight degree, by doing which he almost always attains to an honourable position; while, if he had attempted to obtain that eminence by his own unassisted efforts, a much longer time and more laborious pains would, or might have been required to ensure success. The truth of this remark is fully exemplified in the case of Pisano or Pisanello, a painter of Verona, who, having studied in Florence with Andrea dal Castagno, during many years, and having completed the works of that master, after his death, acquired so much reputation by means of Andrea's name, that Pope Martin V., coming to Florence, took the Veronese artist with him to Rome.[2] There he caused Pisano to paint certain stories in fresco in San Giovanni Laterano; these are exceedingly pleasing and beautiful, from the circumstance of his having used a sort of ultra-marine blue, given to him by the Pope, in the richest abundance, and which is of a colour so full, so deep, and of so exquisite a tint, that none has ever been found to equal it.

In competition[3] with Vittore Pisano, Gentile da Fabriano

[2] Milanesi has proved that Andrea dal Castagno died in August, 1457. Martin V. came to Florence in 1419 and died in 1431, while Andrea was still young. The dates, therefore, wholly disprove Vasari's statements.

[3] Milanesi cites M. Eug. Müntz (*Revue Archéologique. Les anciennes basiliques et Églises de Rome au XVme Siècle*) to prove that there was no competition. Gentile painted here in 1427, Pisanello in 1431. Facio (*De viris illustribus*) says that Pisanello *himself* told him that he had finished Gentile's pictures from the life of Saint John the Baptist, but that dampness had already destroyed them. Gentile died in Rome in 1427 or 1428, as proved by Sigg. Aurelio and Augusto Longhi (*L'anno della morte di Gentile da Fabriano*), and not in Città di Castello, as Vasari seems to believe. Milanesi says that Ricci had seen an old manuscript which chronicled the church of Santa Francesca Romana as Gentile's burial-place.

likewise painted certain other stories beneath those above-mentioned, and of these Platina makes mention in his Life of Pope Martin. He relates that the pontiff caused the flooring, ceiling, and roof of San Giovanni Laterano to be restored, which being done, Gentile da Fabriano then executed various paintings therein; among the rest, certain figures of Prophets in chiaro-scuro; they are between the windows, and are considered to be the best pictures in the whole work. Gentile da Fabriano[4] executed numerous works in the March,[5] more particularly in Agobbio, where some of them are still to be seen. He worked in like manner throughout the whole state of Urbino. In the church of San Giovanni at Siena, this artist also laboured, and in the sacristy of the church of Santa Trinità, in Florence, he painted a picture representing the story of the Magi,[6] in which he placed his own portrait. In the church

[4] Gentile's most important works were probably his frescoes, painted in 1426, in St. John Lateran, at Rome, and those in the Ducal Palace of Venice (*circa* 1420); all these, as well as the frescoes of a chapel executed in Brescia for Pandolfo Malatesta, have perished. From 1421 to 1425 Gentile was in Florence, and in 1425 he painted in the cathedral of Orvieto a Virgin in Glory, still *in situ* though nearly destroyed. An altar-piece (Coronation of the Virgin) remains in Fabriano, while the panels, with figures of Saints Francis, Jerome, Dominick, and the Magdalen have gone to the Brera. See Müntz, *Les Primitifs*, pp. 647–649. For certain frescoes attributed to Gentile, see also Giulio Cantalamessa, *Vecchi affreschi a S. Vittoria in Matenano attribuiti a Gentile*, Arcevia, 1890.

[5] Of these there remains a Crucifixion over the door of Sant' Agostino in Bari. It is doubtful if it be by Gentile.

[6] According to Milanesi this was painted for Palla Strozzi. It is in the Florentine Academy, and is dated May, 1423. One of the three pictures from the *gradino* (the Presentation in the Temple) is in the Louvre. The other two, the Flight into Egypt and the Adoration of the Shepherds, are still in the *gradino*. According to MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, p. 204, the picture was painted for the monks of Vallombrosa, and the figure with red turban and black and gold tunic behind the standing Magian king is Gentile himself. This famous Adoration of the Magi, in Florence (Academy of Fine Arts) is the best known of this artist's pictures; but Morelli (Italian Masters in German Galleries) justly remarks that it has been praised above its due, and that Gentile's is an inferior place when he is compared with his great contemporaries Masaccio, Pisanello, Angelico, Ghiberti, and others. Rogier Van der Weyden, however, is said to have called him the most excellent painter of his time in Italy.

of San Niccolò, situated at the gate of Miniato, Gentile da Fabriano painted the picture for the high altar,[7] a work which appears to me much superior to any other that I have seen from his hand. For to say nothing of the Virgin surrounded by numerous Saints, which are all extremely well done, the predella of this picture, covered with stories from the life of San Niccolò, in small figures, could not possibly be more beautiful nor more perfectly executed than it is. In the church of Santa Maria Nuova, in Rome, within a small arch above the tomb of the Florentine Archbishop of Pisa, Cardinal Adimari, this master painted Our Lady with the Child in her arms ; she has St. Benedict on one side, and St. Joseph on the other. This tomb is beside that of Pope Gregory IX., and the painting here alluded to was held in high estimation by the divine Michel Angelo, who, speaking of Gentile, was wont to say, that his hand in painting resembled his name.[8] In Perugia, this master painted a picture, which is a very beautiful one, for the church of San Domenico,[9] and a Crucifix, which, after having painted, he cut from the wood, in Sant' Agostino di Bari ; with three very beautiful figures in half-length, which are over the entrance to the choir.[10]

But to return to Vittore Pisano, the short notice of him which we have given above was written by us without further addition, when this our book was printed for the first time, because we had not then been furnished with

[7] The two side-panels of this picture (1425), with Saints Mary, Magdalen, Nicholas, George, and John the Baptist, remain in the choir of the church. The centre has disappeared, so has the *gradino*, except that a panel in the Orfanotrofio of Pistoja may possibly be identified as having once formed a portion of the latter. A second picture in San Niccolò represents the Holy Ghost descending to the Virgin and Child. Of the two works MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, p. 278, ascribe one to Gentile, the other to the *school* of Gentile.

[8] This painting has perished. See American Archæological Journal, April 1895, for a Madonna by Gentile in the Jarvis Collection at New Haven.

[9] A Madonna in the Pinacoteca of Perugia is thought by Milanesi to be possibly the picture mentioned here.

[10] Engraved in the *Kunstdenkmaeler* of Schultz, Vol. III., p. 174.

those details respecting this excellent master, nor obtained that knowledge of his works which we have since procured.[11] But from notices supplied by the very reverend and most learned Father, Fra Marco de' Medici, of Verona, of the Order of Friars-Preachers, as well as from what is related by Biondo da Forli, where he speaks of Verona, in his *Italia Illustrata,* we learn that Vittore Pisano[12] was fully equal to any of the painters of his time, and of this we have ample proof in the works which, in addition to those enumerated above, may still be seen in his native place, the most noble city of Verona; although many of them are in part destroyed by time. Pisano took especial pleasure in the delineation of animals, and in the chapel of the Pellegrini family,[13] which is in the church of Sant' Anastasia, at Verona, he depicted a figure of Sant' Eustachio, who is caressing a dog, spotted, dun-colour and white, which, with its feet raised and supported against the leg of the saint, turns its head backward, as if it had heard some noise, and this it does with so much animation, that a living dog could not do it better. Beneath this figure of Sant' Eustachio is the name of Pisano, who was accustomed to call himself sometimes Pisano, and sometimes Pisanello, as may be seen on the pictures and medals by his hand. After having completed the picture of Sant' Eustachio, which is among the best ever executed by this master, and is indeed, most beautiful, Vittore painted the whole external front of the chapel, and on the inner side he depicted a St. George, in

[11] This passage is one of several which prove that Vasari's silence regarding artists who were not Tuscan comes rather from lack of knowledge than from jealousy. Indeed his praise is given generously and frequently to Umbrians, Venetians, Lombards, men of all schools.

[12] M. Eug. Müntz (*Les Primitifs*) gives the following as dates in the life of Pisanello. He was born in Verona toward 1380, and decorated (1422) the hall in the Ducal Palace of Venice, where he completed a work commenced by Gentile da Fabriano. He worked in the Lateran at Rome (1431–1432), in Ferrara (1435), was busy and courted, and died in Rome about 1451.

[13] The only frescoes of Pisanello which are affirmed to have escaped are the partially preserved ones at Verona in Santa Anastasia, and in San Fermo Maggiore.

white, or rather silver armour, a costume adopted for that saint in those times, not by him only, but by all other painters. In this work, St. George, having slain the dragon, is replacing his sword in the scabbard, he raises his right hand, which holds the sword, the point whereof is already in the scabbard, and lowering the left, that the increased distance may facilitate the descent of the weapon, which is a long one, he does this with so much grace, and in so life-like a manner, that nothing better could be seen. The Veronese, Michele Sanmichele, architect to the Most Illustrious Signoria of Venice, and a person most deeply versed in these noble arts, was often seen to contemplate the works of Vittore with admiration, and would then say, that few better things were to be found than the Sant' Eustachio, the Dog, and the St. George above described. In the arch over this same chapel, is further depicted the figure of St. George, after he has killed the dragon, and is rescuing the king's daughter, who stands near the saint, and is clothed in long vestments, according to the custom of that time. The St. George, in this portion of the work, is again worthy of the utmost admiration; he is armed as above described, and, standing with his face and person turned towards the surrounding spectators, is in the act of mounting his horse: one foot is in the stirrup, the left hand is on the saddle, and one almost sees the movement of the saint as he rises to his seat. The animal itself, admirably foreshortened, is standing with the crupper to the people, and, though in a very small space, is wholly seen, and is extremely beautiful. In a word, the entire work, executed as it is with correct design, extraordinary grace, and remarkable judgment, can never be contemplated without admiration, or rather without astonishment, so excellent is it in all its parts.

In San Fermo Maggiore, at Verona,[14] a church belonging

[14] The frescoes of San Fermo are still in existence, though badly injured; certain other frescoes, found in 1868 in the Torriani chapel of Sant' Eustorgio at Milan (and since injured by restorers), are sufficiently like Pisanello's work to be attributed to him. The National Gallery, London, possesses an authentic picture by him, representing Saints George and Anthony, while Morelli at

to the Grey Friars of St. Francis, on the left hand as you enter by the principal door, there is a picture of the Annunciation, by Vittore Pisano; it forms the decoration of a Sepulchral Monument, erected in the chapel of the Brenzoni family, and which represents the Resurrection of the Saviour, in sculpture, very finely executed for those times. In this work the figures of the Virgin and the Angel have the parts in relief, heightened with gold, as was customary at that period, and are both very beautiful, as are also certain buildings in the same picture, which are extremely well drawn; there are, besides, many small animals and birds in various parts of the work, all of which are as natural and as animated as it is possible to imagine.[15]

The same master executed numerous castings of medallions, containing portraits of princes and other personages of his time. From these medallions, many likenesses in painting have since been made.[16] And Monsignore Giovio, in a letter written in the vulgar tongue, which he sent to the Lord Duke Cosimo, and which may be read, printed with many others, has these words, when speaking of Vittore Pisano :—

"This master was exceedingly clever in the execution of basso-rilievo, a work esteemed most difficult by artists,

Milan had a portrait of Leonello d'Este. There is a very charming St. Hubert in the Ashburnham collection, and a Madonna and Child in Verona are ascribed to him. The so-called Vallardi collection of the Louvre contains a great number of important drawings by Pisanello. Vittore signed his medals Pisano, not Pisanello.

[15] Nothing certain is known of Pisanello's masters. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider him a follower of Lorenzo Monaco and Pietro da Montepulciano, and to have been influenced later by Gentile da Fabriano. Morelli suggests that Uccello influenced him, and Dr. Richter claims an equally important place for Altichieri as a man whose work must have been seen and studied by Pisanello. Certain frescoes in the Castello of Pavia, and containing many animals, have been attributed to Pisanello. See M. Eug. Müntz, *Les Précurseurs*, 285, for an interesting passage on the animal painters of the fifteenth century.

[16] A profile of a woman, believed to be by Pisanello, has been recently acquired by the Louvre, and may represent Margherita Gonzaga, first wife of Leonello d'Este. See M. G. Gruyer, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, and Sig. G. Frizzoni, *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, VI., 460. Herr Von Tschudi and Dr. Bode

because it holds the mean between the level surface of pictures and the full roundness of statues. There are many highly esteemed medals of great princes by his hand, they are in a large form, and of the same proportions with that reverse of the caparisoned and barbed horse which Guidi has sent me. Among the works of this kind in my possession, is a portrait of the great King Alfonso, wearing no other head-dress than his hair; and on the reverse is the helmet of a general. I have besides, a medal with the portrait of Pope Martin, and bearing the arms of the house of Colonna on the reverse, with that of Sultan Mahomet, who took Constantinople, an equestrian figure; in a Turkish habit; holding a scourge in his hand. Of Sigismundo Malatesta, likewise, I have the portrait, with that of Madonna Isotta, of Rimini, on the reverse; and one of Niccolò Piccinino, wearing an oblong barrett or cap on the head; with the reverse sent me by Guidi, and which I return. In addition to these, I have also a very beautiful medal of John Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, with that strange looking head-dress, after the Greekish manner, which the Emperors used to wear. This last was made by the same Pisano in Florence, at the time of the council held by Pope Eugenius, whereat the aforesaid emperor was present; the reverse of this bears the Cross of Christ, sustained by two hands, that of the Latin church, namely, and that of the Greek."

So far Giovio. Vittore Pisano likewise executed the portraits, also on medals, of Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa, Braccio da Montone, Giovan Galleozzo Visconti, Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, Giovanni Caracciolo, grand Seneschal of Naples, with those of Borso and Ercole D'Este, and of many other nobles and personages, renowned in arms or distinguished for learning.[17]

attribute to Pisanello a *tondo* (Adoration of the Kings) and a Madonna with Saints, both in the Berlin Gallery.

[17] He rediscovered the art of the medallist about 1438 (according to M. Müntz, *Les Primitifs*), and has left twenty-four signed medals, while some ten

For the reputation he had acquired in this branch of art Pisano has been celebrated by many very great men and excellent writers; and, in addition to what was written of him by Biondo, as before related, he was highly extolled in a Latin poem, composed by his compatriot the elder Guerino, a well-known and very learned writer of that day. Of this poem, called from the name of its subject, *Il Pisano del Guerino,* Biondo also makes honourable mention. Vittore, was, in like manner, celebrated by the elder Strozzi, Tito Vespasiano, that is, father of the other Strozzi, who, like himself, was an excellent poet in the Latin tongue. The father, I say then, honoured the memory of Vittore Pisano in a most beautiful epigram, which is in print with the others.[18] And these are the fruits that are borne by a life passed worthily and in the practice of virtuous labours.

It has been said by some writers that when Pisano, then very young, was acquiring his art in Florence, he painted a picture in the old church of the Temple, which stood where the old citadel now is. The subject of this work was taken from the life of San Jacopo di Galizia, and represents the story of the pilgrim, in whose pocket, while he was going on a pilgrimage to that saint, the son of his host put a silver cup, to the intent that he might be punished as a thief;

others are attributed to him. Specimens of them may be seen in the great museums of Europe, and the best of them are among the finest, if they are not themselves *the* finest, medals of the Renaissance. Milanesi only catalogues fourteen medals by Pisanello; they bear the heads of Niccolo Piccinino, Leonello d'Este, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Pietro Candido Decembrio, Vittorino da Feltre, Filippo Maria Visconti, Gio. Paleologo, Alfonso V. d'Aragona, Francesco Sforza, Giovan Francesco Gonzaga, Cecilia Gonzaga, Lodovico [III.] Gonzaga, Malatesta IV., Novello, Inigo d'Avalos. Porcellio in his Latin verses, see Cesare Cavattoni, *Tre Carmi Latini*, cited by Milanesi, III., p. 26, note 1, tells us that Pisanello made medal portraits of himself (Porcellio), of Basinio, Carlo Gonzaga, Guarino, Aurispa, of a certain Girolamo, and of the child Bellotto, as also of Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli. None of these except the Aurispa have been recognized in modern times in any museum. Certain variations are known in the cases of the medals of Leonello d'Este, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatista, and Alfonso of Arragon.

[18] According to Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, quoted by Milanesi, Pisanello could not have been in Florence during his youth.

but the pilgrim, being aided by San Jacopo, is by him reconducted to his home in safety. In this painting, Vittore Pisano gave evidence of that excellence in art to which he afterwards attained. Finally, having reached a good old age, he departed to a better life.[19]

Gentile da Fabriano, after having executed many works[20] in Città di Castello, became at length paralytic, and fell into such a state of weakness, that he could no more produce any thing of value. Ultimately he died from the exhaustion of age, having reached the term of eighty years.[21] [22]

The portrait of Pisano,[23] I have not been able to discover

[19] In his first edition Vasari says that he painted in the Campo Santo, but in his second edition he makes no mention of this, probably because he could not substantiate the statement.

[20] No trace of these works remains.

[21] Milanesi has written a long commentary upon Pisanello, in which he concludes that Oretti was mistaken in attributing to him a medal of Mahomet II., dated 1481. He disproves the attribution of certain pictures dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century; he shows that Leonello d'Este, who died in 1450, was modelled by Pisanello, and that Borso, his successor, was not (in spite of Vasari's affirmation); finally, that Facio, who knew him personally, speaks of him in 1456 as if already dead. See Bartolommeo Facio, *De Viris Illustribus*, written in 1456 and published in Florence, 1745, by the Abbate Mehus. Lastly, he quotes a letter of Carlo de' Medici, mentioning the recent death of Pisanello; this letter, though only dated October 31st, bears evidence of having been written in 1456. He deduces that Pisanello was born about 1400 and died in 1456, shortly after the middle of March. See the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1894, II., 494, for the suggestion of 1451 as the date of his death.

[22] Morelli declares Pisanello to have been as great a pioneer in his time as was Giambellino in his later epoch. M. Müntz says that instead of employing the scientific processes of the Tuscans, certain northern masters attacked the same problems empirically, and setting aside the methods of pure reason, trusted to the training of the eye and the observation of the outsides of things. He cites Pisanello as the incarnation of this tendency, and claims that these northern painters, "like the architects of their region, represent the picturesque school as opposed to that of the stylists."

[23] Two medals exist with the portrait of Pisanello, one bareheaded and inscribed *Pisanus Pictor*, the second with a cap, and also inscribed *Pisanus Pictor*. The latter medal is of smaller size; both are considered genuine by Morelli and M. Gruyer. Milanesi believes that the former may really be by Pisanello, but agrees with Charles Lenormant that the latter is not so, the letters F. S. K. I. P. F. T. on the reverse being read by Lenormant as follows: *Franciscus Korradini Pictor Fecit.*

Sig. D. Gnoli, in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, III., 403, publishes the

in any place whatsoever. Both these artists drew exceedingly well, as may be seen from the drawings preserved in our book.[24]

passport of Pisani from Rome, of July 26, 1432, and the *Arch. Stor.*, II., 38 contains a document, *Il Pisanello graziato*, referring to his return to Verona after the siege and plague of 1439.

[24] Vernon Lee, in an admirable essay on The Portrait Art in Euphorion emphasizes the fact that the greatest medallists of the Early Renaissance, Vittore Pisano and Matteo de' Pasti, were painters, not sculptors, and that, like painters, they obtained their effects, working for "the almost pictorial effect of flesh in its various degrees of boss and of reaction of the light . . . by the skilful manipulation of texture and of surface." They were wholly independent of the ideal work of antiquity, and completely unlike such later men as Cellini and Caradosso, who were medallist-sculptors "seeking essentially for abstract elegance of line." As a painter Pisanello, with his keen and subtle perception and his marvellous capacity for characterization, holds an honorable rank among the naturalistic masters who gave such an impulse to art in the early fifteenth century, but it is by his medallions in relief that he stands as peer of the greatest masters and as the first medallist of modern times.

BENOZZO GOZZOLI,[1] FLORENTINE PAINTER.

[Born 1420; died 1498.]

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HE who, with determined effort, pursues the path of virtue, although it be, as men say, rough and stormy and full of thorns, at the close of the ascent discovers himself finally to have attained a broad level, with all the happiness that can be desired. And if he then look back and consider the difficult and perilous passages laboriously overcome, he thanks God who hath safely conducted him through them to the point which he has reached, and with gladness of heart blesses those efforts which he had previously found so painful. Thus restored and repaid for his bygone sufferings by the joys of the happy present, he now labours without any sense of fatigue, to make known to all who observe him the certainty with which the pains endured, and the heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and other inconveniences sustained, for the acquirement of excellence, are rewarded by freedom from poverty, and by the attainment of that secure and tranquil condition in which the wearied Benozzo Gozzoli happily enjoyed his repose.

[1] He was Benozzo di Lese di Sandro; the cognomen of Gozzoli seems to have been a late addition.

This artist was the disciple of the deservedly-entitled angelic master, Fra Giovanni,[2] by whom he was with reason much beloved; he was acknowledged by all who saw his works, to possess great power of invention, much facility, and richly varied resources in the delineation of animals, in perspective, in landscape, and in decorations. Benozzo Gozzoli executed so many labours in his day that he proved himself to have but little regard for any pleasure beside; and, although in comparison with certain other masters, who surpassed him in design, he was not particularly eminent; he yet left all far behind him in perseverance, and among the multitude of his works there are many that are very good.[3] In his youth,[4] Benozzo painted an altar-piece for the Brotherhood of San Marco[5] in Florence, he did also the death of St. Jerome for the church of San Friano; but the latter was destroyed when that front of the church, which is bounded by the street, was restored.

For the palace of the Medici,[6] Benozzo Gozzoli painted the chapel in fresco, the subject chosen being the story of the Magi,[7] and in Rome he painted stories from the life

[2] Fra Angelico.

[3] Benozzo at the age of twenty-four worked under Ghiberti on the bronze gates of the Baptistery, so that we may assume that he began his career as a goldsmith. He was with Fra Angelico in Rome from 1447 to 1449, and in Montefalco from 1450 to 1452, executing the frescoes which are still to be seen there in the Monastery of San Francesco and in San Fortunato; an altar-piece from the latter (painted in 1450) is in the Lateran Museum at Rome. There is an interesting reference to Benozzo's works at Montefalco in the American Archæological Journal for July–September, 1893.

[4] In 1461.

[5] Now in the National Gallery, London. The original contract is still in existence and is dated 1461, and stipulates that the entire work, even to the *predella*, must be executed by Gozzoli's own hand, and that the figure of the Virgin should be the same as that of the Virgin Enthroned, in the church of San Marco, by Fra Angelico.

[6] Now the Riccardi Palace.

[7] It would be hard to find, even in the fifteenth century, a more perfectly satisfactory decoration, at once brilliant and sincere, than is this of the chapel which the lords of Florence built for their private devotions in their palace of Via Larga. The charming pageant, with its abundance of gilding and its embossed patterns, its dogs and horses, hunters and shepherds, winds about the

of St. Anthony of Padua in the chapel of the Cesarina family, in the church of Ara Cœli :[8] in this work are the portraits of Cardinal Giuliano, Cesarini, and of Antonio Colonna, both taken from the life. In the Torre de' Conti also, over the gate of entrance that is, Benozzo painted a fresco, wherein he depicted Our Lady with numerous saints ; and in Santa Maria Maggiore, in a chapel on the right hand as you enter by the principal door, he painted various figures in fresco, which are tolerably well done.[9]

Having returned from Rome to Florence, Benozzo next repaired to Pisa, where he worked [10] in the cemetery beside the cathedral, which is called the Campo Santo, painting the decorations of a wall which runs the whole length of the building, and on which he depicted stories from the Old

walls and leads up to a perfectly decorative motive, where peacock-winged angels cluster about the altar upon which the Adoration of the Kings once stood. In the procession are three generations of Medici, Cosimo, *pater patriæ*, Piero the gouty, and the young Lorenzo with coroneted barret upon his head; there are lords and grooms and huntsmen with dogs in leashes, and among the Medici, Benozzo himself rides with his name inscribed upon his cap. This is the very perfection of a decoration, gay yet serious, rich yet dignified in color, animated yet stately. It was painted by artificial light, since the window in the fifteenth century was even smaller than it is now. The frescoes executed in 1459 were cleaned and retouched in 1837, and are in better condition than are most wall-paintings in Italy. The altar-piece, an Adoration of the Magi, is in Munich, and one whole wall of the chapel has been thrown forward for some feet, but in spite of loss and changes the room is singularly complete in its scheme of decoration—walls, vaulting, pavement, and woodwork being admirably harmonious. For three letters from Benozzo to Piero de' Medici referring to these frescoes, see Gaye, *Carteggio*, I., 193–194.

[8] This fresco exists, but is much repainted. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also find traces of Benozzo's hand in the paintings on the *lunettes* of the portals. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in Italy, II., 499.

[9] All of these works have perished.

[10] Painted between 1469 and 1485, and the vastest cycle of paintings undertaken by any fifteenth-century painter. In some of these frescoes, according to Messrs. Woltmann and Woermann (History of Painting, Vol. II., p. 309), "we feel the absence of any adequate and independent motive in the principal actors, and Benozzo, though amiable, is not strongly original." Nevertheless, and in spite of the reduplication of the same characters in a single work, those frescoes which have an architectural setting are generally, as M. Müntz has remarked, excellent in the ordering of the composition. The painter's invention is endless and facile.

Testament, wherein he displayed much power of invention.[11] This work may be truly called a most formidable undertaking, the artist having represented the whole creation of the world day by day: after which follows the Flood, with the Ark of Noah; pictures which are very finely composed, and exhibit a great variety of figures. Near this is the proud building of the Tower of Nimrod, the burning of Sodom and the neighbouring cities, with stories from the life of Abraham, in which there are many parts admirably expressed, and worthy of much consideration. For although it is true that Benozzo possessed no very distinguished talent in drawing figures,[12] yet in this work, in the Sacrifice of Isaac more particularly, he has nevertheless exhibited considerable mastery of his art; among other things he has painted an Ass, foreshortened, and placed in such a manner that it seems to turn on every side; this animal is considered very fine. The Birth of Moses follows, together with all the signs and prodigies that ensued, until the time when he led the people forth from Egypt, and fed them during so many years in the wilderness. Finally, Benozzo added to these certain other stories of the Hebrew people; as, for example, those of David and Solomon his son; and it may be truly affirmed that, in this work, he displayed infinite persistence, and a spirit more than bold; for whereas so vast an undertaking might very well have appalled a whole legion of painters, he alone encountered the whole, and completed it with his own hand. He accordingly acquired

[11] M. Eug. Müntz, *Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance*, p. 164, notes that the period of Piero de Medici (*il gottoso*) was one of relative stagnation in art, and of comparative timidity in the following of the antique. He cites Benozzo as a man who escaped this revulsion and was frankly of his own time.

[12] On the contrary, he was often an admirable draughtsman. He had not the grand manner, the sweep of Masaccio, or the dignity of Ghirlandajo, but for closeness of drawing and skilful individualization some of his heads in the Sant' Agostino frescoes at San Gimignano, especially the heads of beardless middle-aged men, are almost equal to the drawings of Holbein. He was, however, an uneven draughtsman, and often careless in his treatment of the figure, especially in the drawing of the attachments.

a very great reputation by this work, and well merited the following lines which were appended to it in his honour :—

" Quid spectas volucres, pisces, et monstra ferarum,
Et virides silvas œthereasque domos ?
Et pueros, juvenes, matres, canosque parentes,
*Queis semper virum * spirat in ore decus ?*
Non hœc tam variis, finxit simulacra figuris
Natura ingenio fœtibus apta suo :
Est opus artificis : pinxit viva ora Benoxus :
O superi vivos fundite in ora sonos."

Innumerable portraits, taken from the life, are scattered throughout this work, but as the subjects of all are not known, I shall speak of those only which are understood to be of important personages, or of those respecting which I have found authentic notices recorded. In the story of the Queen of Sheba visiting Solomon there is a portrait of Marcilius Ficinus among various prelates, with those of Argiropolo, a learned Greek, and of Batista [13] Platina, whose likeness Benozzo had previously taken in Rome ; with the portrait of the artist himself on horseback, the figure being that of an old man with shaven beard, and wearing a black cap, in the fold of which there is a white paper, perhaps intended as a sign or token ; or it may be that Benozzo had intended to inscribe his name thereon.

In the same city of Pisa, in a convent on the bank of the Arno belonging to the nuns of San Benedetto, Benozzo Gozzoli painted a series of stories exhibiting the various events of the life of that saint ; [14] and in the house of the

* *Vivum* in the Milanesi edition.

[13] Bartolommeo, not Battista.

[14] The San Benedetto frescoes have perished. There is an altar-piece (a Virgin and Child), in the Academy at Pisa, which came from S. Benedetto a Ripa d'Arno. Morelli notes that Benozzo painted in *tempera* and never in oil. Professor Branchi, of Pisa, made some experiments on a fragment of Gozzoli's frescoes in the Campo Santo to determine his method of applying the gilding so lavishly used in his pictures. From these experiments it appeared that (1) a size was first applied to the smooth *intonaco*, (2) which was then thinly coated with wax, to which (3) the gold leaf was affixed.

Brotherhood of the Florentines, which then stood where the monastery of San Vito now is, he painted the Altar-piece, with many other pictures.[15] In the cathedral, behind the seat of the archbishop, Benozzo executed a small picture in tempera; the subject of this work is St. Thomas Aquinas surrounded by numerous learned men, who dispute concerning his works: among these is the portrait of Pope Sixtus IV., with several cardinals, and many chiefs and generals of different religious orders. This is the best and most finished work ever executed by Benozzo.[16] In Santa Caterina, a monastery belonging to the Preaching-Friars in the same city, this master painted two pictures in tempera, which may be easily recognized by the manner; and in the church of San Niccolò, another in like manner; with two in Santa Croce, without the gates of Pisa.[17]

While still a youth[18] Benozzo worked in the Capitular church of San Gimignano, where he painted the altar-piece for the altar of San Bastiano, which stands in the middle of the church, opposite to the principal chapel;[19] and in the Hall of Council are certain figures, partly by his hand, and partly by an older master,[20] but restored by him. For the monks of Monte Oliveto, in the same district, he painted a Crucifix; but the best work executed by Benozzo in that place was a fresco in the principal chapel of the church of Sant' Agostino,[21] where he painted stories from the life of the titular saint, from his conversion, that is, to his death.[22]

[15] These works are probably lost.

[16] This picture is now in the Louvre.

[17] These works are unidentified. There are two pictures in the Museo Civico attributed to him. In S. Domenico (church and convent) are a panel painting, the Forty Martyrs, frescoes of the Crucifixion, and of a half-length S. Domenico, which all may be by Benozzo.

[18] As he was then forty-four years old he could hardly have been considered a youth.

[19] This fresco still exists in the church.

[20] The older master referred to was Lippo Memmi.

[21] This series from the life of Saint Augustine is one of Benozzo's most important works, and in the drawing of certain heads offers some of the closest and most skilful work done in the fifteenth century.

[22] That is to say, from 1464 to 1467.

Of all this work I have the design, by the master's own hand, in my book, with several drawings of those described above, as executed in the Campo Santo of Pisa. In Volterra, likewise, Benozzo performed certain works,[23] but these do not require further mention.

Now it happened that when Benozzo was working in Rome, there was another painter then in that city called Melozzo,[24] and who came from Forli; many, therefore, not being better informed, and having found written Melozzo, while the dates agreed, have believed that this Melozzo should have been Benozzo;[25] but they are in error, for the painter Melozzo was one who lived at the same time with Gozzoli, and was very zealous in the study of art; he gave his attention more particularly to foreshortening, which he executed with great care and diligence; of this a proof may be seen in the church of Sant' Apostolo, in Rome, on the tribune of the High Altar, where there are certain figures gathering grapes, in a frieze painted in perspective as an ornamental framework to the picture, with a cask, which

[23] Milanesi attributes to Benozzo an Adoration of the Magi in the cathedral of Volterra, as also a Madonna with saints in the convent of San Girolamo, outside the town. The latter picture is ascribed to Giusto d'Andrea by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Four pictures which were in the Alessandri palace of Florence have been variously ascribed to Benozzo and to Pesellino.

[24] Melozzo degli Ambrosi was born at Forli in 1438. He painted [1474–75] at Urbino, probably in the library. Four of the pictures executed there still exist: two—Dialectics and Astronomy—are at Berlin; two—Music and Rhetoric—are in the National Gallery at London. There are also curious fragments at Windsor. In 1478 he painted in the octagonal treasury at Loretto (prophets, angels, and cherubim). In Rome he decorated (*circa* 1473) the tribune of the SS. Apostoli. In 1711 the principal fragment of this tribune, a fresco (Christ surrounded by Angels), was incrusted upon the interior staircase of the Quirinal, and certain half-length figures of angels playing on musical instruments were placed in the sacristy of Saint Peter's, which have been made popular by frequent photographic reproduction. M. Müntz says of them: "They show an originality, a freedom, and a beauty such as even Raphael has not surpassed." In spite of this high praise, and in spite, too, of their rhythmical charm and of great elegance, these angel heads are not only sometimes devoid of beauty, but are often incorrect in drawing and even completely lacking in construction. Melozzo died November 8, 1494.

[25] Melozzo at about the same time as Mantegna began to paint violently foreshortened figures in his ceiling decorations.

are exceedingly well done. But this quality of Melozzo is even more obviously apparent in the Ascension of Jesus Christ, whose figure is seen in the midst of a choir of angels, by whom he is borne to heaven. In this picture the figure of the Saviour is so admirably foreshortened, that it seems to pierce the vault; and the same may be said of the angels who are floating in various attitudes through the fields of air. The apostles, who stand on the earth beneath, are in like manner foreshortened so well, in the different attitudes given to them, that the work was then, and continues still to be, greatly commended by artists, who have learned much from the labours of this master. Melozzo was also well acquainted with the laws of perspective, as the buildings painted in this picture sufficiently demonstrate. The work here described was executed by command of Cardinal Riario, nephew of Pope Sixtus IV., by whom the master was largely remunerated.

But to return to Benozzo. Exhausted at length by time and by his labours, he departed in his seventy-eighth year to the true rest. This master died in the City of Pisa while dwelling in a small house which he had purchased during the long period of his abiding there, in Carraja di San Francesco, and which he left at his death to his daughter. He was regretted by all the city, and was honourably interred in the Campo Santo with the following epitaph, which is still to be read there :—

Hic tumulus est Benotii Florentini, qui proxime has pinxit historias.
Hunc sibi Pisanorum donavit humanitas. MCCCCLXXVIII.[26]

Benozzo always lived with great regularity, and in the manner of a true Christian, his whole life being occupied with honourable labours. He was long looked upon with great consideration in Pisa, as well for his excellent qualities as for the distinction to which he had attained in art. The disciples whom he left behind him were, Zanobi Macchi-

[26] This date does not refer to the death of Benozzo, but to the time when the people of Pisa erected his tomb.

avelli, a Florentine, and some others who do not require more particular mention.[27] [28]

[27] Besides Zanobi di Jacopo di Piero Machiavelle (1418–1479) Giusto d'Andrea di Giusto (1440–1498) was also a pupil of Benozzo.

[28] Benozzo Gozzoli is an uneven painter, but a great one. Always spontaneous, often gay, and sometimes grave, he seems to fear no task, however great, and without preoccupation as to the difficulty he attacks an enormous wall surface, as in his frescoes of the Pisan Campo Santo, and appears not so much to think out his composition in advance as to go straight on telling a story easily and quickly, adding group after group as he feels the need of more figures, and pressing animals and plants, architecture and landscape, into his service as readily as men and women. Messrs. Woltmann and Woermann (History of Painting, Vol. II., p. 308) say that "this constantly romantic mood leaves, it must be owned, a rather desultory impression," which is true; but what is more important, the pictorial and decorative impression is not desultory, but strong and abiding. In his procession of the Magian Kings in the Medici chapel, Benozzo is a miniature-painter on a vast scale, and seems almost like a child at play, setting out his little trees and hills and tiny background figures hunting or pasturing their herds; but to this *naïveté* he adds a grace and charm, so great that here one feels perhaps more than anywhere else that delightful decorative quality of fifteenth-century art, which, as M. Müntz has said, was sacrificed forever when the *orders* with their inexorable rules came in only a few years later. Here in the Medici chapel Benozzo added the strength and science of the early Renaissance to the sincerity and daintiness of the Gothic illuminator. He is a story-teller *par excellence*, a Florentine Carpaccio in his episodical treatment of his subjects, and a Florentine Holbein in his drawing of the heads of doctors and lawyers in his Saint Augustine series, where the modelling, awkward even to carelessness in some of his work, becomes almost as close as that of the great German master. He is classical only in his architecture, loving to paint rather the gayest costumes of his own fifteenth century, and setting, says M. Lafenestre, "the life of the schools" (see his San Gimignano works) "side by side with the life of courts and palaces." For a particularly enthusiastic essay upon Benozzo, see M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, pp. 619 to 628, where he claims that justice has not yet been done to the painter, and that his is the glory of having restored to honor a narrative element too often sacrificed to the contemplative by the Florentine artists. He is not only an animated story-teller, he is a poet at times; the idyl is his as well as the episode, and his style suggests the romance rather than the *Novella*. He is a lover of nature, a student of fields and flowers and birds and animals: he loved to enamel a meadow with blossoms as well as to elaborate the pattern of a brocade jerkin, and to show us the arbor bending under heavy clusters of grapes as well as to present us to some contemporary legist or *Magnifico*. On the vast wall spaces that he covered so rapidly and easily with a world of story, he revealed himself in turn as landscape-painter, portrait-painter, animal-painter, costumer, architect, a designer of ornament, and superlatively a decorator. The pure, serene spirit of Fra Angelico's art in Gozzoli had become more human, more homely, more familiar, the pleasant places of earth were the heaven he painted; but if the work of the master is more divine, that of the pupil is more living.

ANTONIO ROSSELLINO, FLORENTINE SCULPTOR,[1] AND BERNARDO, HIS BROTHER, FLORENTINE SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT.

[Born 1427; died about 1479.] [Born 1409; died 1464.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—W. Bode, *B. und A. Rosellino*, in the Dohme series of *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. August Schmarsow, *Un capolavoro di scultura fiorentina del quattrocento*, in *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., 225-235. W. Bode, *Italienische Bildhauer der Renaissance, Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Plastik und Malerei auf Grund der Bildwerke und Gemälde in den Königl. Museen zu Berlin*. Dr. Albert Ilg, with a short article on *Il Rossellino* in the *Jahrbuch der Kunst historischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, I. (1883), p. 17, has a fine reproduction of a beautiful Madonna which was taken from Schloss Ambras to the Vienna collections. For Polychromy applied to statues, see for the Rossellini, as well as for Donatello, Verrocchio, Benedetto, and others, Louis Courajod, *La Polychromie dans la statuaire du moyen-âge et de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1888.

IT has in truth been ever a praiseworthy and virtuous thing to possess modesty, and to be adorned with those amiable qualities and rare gifts, so clearly to be perceived in the honourable conduct of the sculptor Antonio Rossellino, an artist, who pursued his calling with such devotion and so much grace that he was esteemed something more than man by all who knew him, and was

[1] Antonio was born in Settignano; his father was Matteo di Domenico Gambarelli. There were five brothers, all artists—Domenico, born 1407; Bernardo, 1409-1464; Giovanni, 1417-1496; Tommaso, born 1422; Antonio, 1427-1479. Late critics, Dr. Bode especially, have considerably increased the list of Antonio's works by various attributions of reliefs, busts, etc., both in clay and marble.

venerated almost as a saint for the admirable virtues which he added to his knowledge of art.

Antonio[2] was called the Rossellino of the Proconsolate,[3] from the circumstance of his workrooms being in a part of Florence, so called. His works display so much softness and delicacy, with a refinement and purity so entirely perfect, that his manner may be justly called the true and really modern one.

The marble fountain in the second court of the Medici Palace was constructed by Antonio Rossellino, the decorations of this work consist of Children with Dolphins[4] from the mouths of which the water is poured. The whole is executed with exceeding grace, and finished with the utmost care. In the church of Santa Croce, and near the holy-water font, this master erected a sepulchral monument for Francesco Nori,[5] with the Virgin above it in basso-rilievo, and a second figure of Our Lady, in the palace of the Tornabuoni family,[6] with many other works which were sent abroad into various parts, as for example, to Lyons, in France. For San Miniato al Monte, a monastery of White Friars, outside of Florence, Rossellino was appointed to construct the monument of the Cardinal of Portugal, and this work he executed so admirably, with

[2] The Rossellini belong to the group of sculptors called by M. Müntz the Eclectics. This author says the sculptors of the time were divided into three classes—the stone-cutters, *lavoranti di quadro;* the ornamentalists, *lavoranti d'intaglio;* the figure sculptors, *lavoranti di figure.* The Rossellini were emphatically both ornamentalists and figure sculptors. See E. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, 454.

[3] The old Proconsulate still stands at the corner of the Via del Proconsolo and the Via dei Pandolfini; it was the head-quarters of the guild of judges and notaries.

[4] In the last edition of Milanesi, Vol. II., p. 408, he attributes the fountain at the Villa of Castello to Donatello, and on p. 94, Vol. III., he corrects this error and affirms his belief that the Castello fountain is the one mentioned here, although the *putti* and the dolphins have disappeared.

[5] Francesco Nori, the friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, was murdered in the cathedral in 1478 by Giov. Bandini. See the history of the Pazzi conspiracy. Antonio died about 1479, but Nori ordered the tomb during his lifetime.

[6] This work is supposed to be lost.

such extraordinary care and ability, that no artist can ever expect to see anything which in grace and delicacy could possibly surpass it.[7] Nay, to him who examines this work it appears not merely difficult, but almost impossible that it should have been brought to such perfection. There are angels who have so much grace and beauty of expression ; with such an easy flow in the draperies, and so much art in the whole work, that they no longer seem to be of marble, but living beings. Of these angels, one holds the crown of chastity, which belonged to that cardinal, he having died, as it is said, in strict celibacy, the other bears the palm of victory, to intimate the conquest obtained by the Prelate over worldly things. Among other remarkable parts of this work is an arch in the stone called macigno, which supports a marble curtain, so finely arranged, that between the white of the marble and the grey of the macigno this drapery looks much more like real cloth than like marble. On the sarcophagus are figures of children which are truly beautiful, with that of the Prelate himself ; there is a Madonna, moreover, in a medallion, which is also very well done : the tomb itself has the form of that constructed in porphyry, which is to be seen in Rome on the Piazza of the

[7] An admirable tomb. The polychromatic material somewhat scatters the effect, and the flying angels are awkward, but the medallion of the Virgin and Child is beautiful, Rossellino being at his best in these *tondi*, while the whole chapel, down to the smallest detail, is singularly harmonious in its decorative effect. Perkins, Historical Handbook of Sculpture, p. 121, calls this one of the three finest tombs in Tuscany, and says that it "attains the golden mean of ornament, thanks to the judicious contrast preserved between adorned and unadorned spaces." It must be added that Rossellino, after attaining this effect of just proportion of ornament, has gone far toward cancelling what he had obtained, by using colored marble in large masses instead of white, and this error surprises, since the epoch was one in which painter and sculptor so often thoroughly appreciated each other's effects of color as well as of proportion. The tomb was ordered of Antonio in 1461. On the whole, though this work displays perhaps higher sculptural qualities than does the Bruni monument, by his brother Bernardo, the latter is finer in arrangement and is therefore better as an artistic *ensemble*. M. Eug. Müntz is emphatic in his opinion that Bernardo is greater than Antonio, both as architect and sculptor.

Rotunda.[8] This monument to the Cardinal of Portugal was erected in the year 1459, and its form, with the architecture of the chapel, so greatly pleased the Duke of Malfi,[9] nephew of Pope Pius II., that he caused one to be constructed for his wife in Naples by the same artist, and similar to that of the cardinal in all things, excepting only the figure of the dead. In the same place [10] Antonio executed a picture in relief,[11] representing the Nativity of Christ (the Presepio); a choir of rejoicing angels float over the rude building, and these, singing, with parted lips, are finished in such a manner that they seem to breathe, nay, to all their movements and expressions, Antonio imparted so much grace and refinement that genius and the chisel could produce nothing in marble to surpass this work. For these qualities the works of Antonio Rossellino have always been held in the highest esteem by Michael Angelo, and are ever considered more than excellent by every other artist. In the capitular church of Empoli, this master produced a figure in marble, of San Bastiano,[12] which is held to be a very beautiful thing, and of this we have a drawing by his own hand in our book, where we have likewise all the architectural details and figures of the before-mentioned chapel

[8] The porphyry tomb, according to Bottari, became a part of the sepulchre of Pope Clement XII., a cover of the same material having been added to it. It is now in the Church of S. John Lateran, in Rome.

[9] By *Malfi*, Amalfi is, of course, meant. Antonio did not live to complete the tomb. Dr. Bode claims that this monument, which is in the Church of Monte Oliveto at Naples, was executed by Benedette da Majano, working under the direction of Antonio. Perkins treats of this tomb as Antonio's work.

[10] Perkins, Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture, p. 123, calls this Nativity "a picture in marble," especially recalling Ghiberti. It is in the Church of S. M. Del Monte Oliveto, Naples. Herr A. Schmarsow, *Un Capolavoro di Scultura Fiorentina del Quattrocento*, *Arch. Stor.*, IV., 225–235, claims that the St. John in the S. Giov. Battista chapel of S. Giobbe at Venice is a masterpiece of Antonio Rossellino.

[11] This ranks among Rossellino's best works; it is still *in situ*.

[12] This San Bastiano is called by M. Müntz one of the most beautiful nude figures of the fifteenth century. See also the same author in *Les Archives des Arts*, p. 28, for a fine Annunciation by Bernardo Rossellino (one of his earliest works), in the Church of the Misericordia at Empoli.

of San Miniato al Monte, with the portrait of Antonio Rossellino himself.

Antonio died in Florence at the age of forty-six, leaving a brother, also an architect and sculptor, called Bernardo.[13] This artist executed the marble monument erected in the church of Santa Croce, to Messer Lionardo Bruni, of Arezzo, who wrote the History of Florence, and was a very learned man, as all the world knows.[14] Bernardo was much

[13] M. Müntz considers that Bernardo Rossellino surpassed his brother both as sculptor and architect. His masterpiece of sculpture is the Bruni monument (1444) in Santa Croce; an Annunciation in the Misericordia at Empoli is important; while the tomb of the Beata Villana (1451), in Santa Maria Novella, is unlike most of his work and recalls Donatello. The Lazzari monument at Pistoja (Church of San Domenico) is by Antonio and Bernardo.

[14] This tomb commemorates the eminent jurist, Leonardo Bruni; also called Aretino, from his birthplace. He was Apostolic Secretary to four successive popes, became Chancellor of Florence, and at his death, in 1444, was given a magnificent funeral by the Republic. This monument, much less rich than is the tomb of Marsuppini, by Desiderio, which stands opposite it upon the other side of the church, is less original and in a way less striking, but it has a dignity and balance which approach perfection, and one can never tire of its grave beauty.

It is perhaps the finest of that wonderful group of sepulchral monuments which includes the tombs of Carlo Marsuppini, by Desiderio; of Cardinal Portogallo, by Antonio Rossellino, and of Ugo, Marquis of Tuscany, by Mino da Fiesole. This tombal sculpture is the contribution of the Renaissance sculptors to Art. In their other works, in *bas-relief*, in the statue in the round, in the portrait bust, in the medal, and in decorative detail they were the students and followers of antiquity, but in this they were creators and innovators. Through the middle ages the sepulchral slab was laid flat upon the church floor, its effigy soon worn smooth by countless feet. Portraiture, decorative motives, and elaborate detail were thus lost and wasted. In the Renaissance the beloved or illustrious dead were given a nobler place. The sarcophagus with its recumbent figure was set high against the church wall in a richly decorated niche between ornamented pilasters. Guardian angels watched on either side or drew apart the marble curtains, contemplative *genii* sustained the heavy wreaths of fruit and flowers or supported the shields of the dead, while above in the *lunette* were Madonna and the saints. Lovely decorative forms enriched the sarcophagus, the base and pilasters were carved with leaf and flower and shell. But it was in the treatment of the figure of the departed lying quietly with composed limbs and folded hands, looking as they who loved him saw him for the last time, with all the transient lines smoothed away by the touch of the greatest of sculptors—it was in the figure idealized by affection and simplified by memory that the Renaissance sculptor proved himself "a poet of Death." The sculptor had forgotten the charnel-house

esteemed for his ability in architecture by Pope Nicholas V., who, besides, valued him greatly, and employed him in many of the works [15] which he caused to be constructed during his pontificate, and of which he would have erected many more, had not death interposed to prevent him.[16] Among those for which Bernardo was employed by Pope Nicholas, was the rebuilding of the Piazza, or Market, in Fabriano (according to what we find related by Giannozzo Manetti), where Bernardo remained during several months, on account of the plague, which was that year raging in Florence.

images of the Middle Ages. Death was no longer to him a grisly spectre, but a gentle youth with an inverted torch, or rather a grave and tender guardian angel, and in these austerely beautiful recumbent figures, in these mailed soldiers, delicate women, and dignified scholars and churchmen, the peace, the pathos, and the majesty of death found adequate artistic expression.

If we compare these Renaissance tombs with those of the Greek Ceramicus we shall perhaps appreciate more highly the individuality of the Tuscan sculptor and the force as a controlling influence in the plastic arts of that "*grande espérance qui a traversée la terre.*" The sepulchral *bas-reliefs* of the Greeks show us the wife surrounded by her servants, her children at her knee bidding them a long farewell, the youth clasping his father's hand while the horse stands near, symbol of the last, dark journey, or the maiden at her toilet, with the sirens, emblems of death, hovering above her. Profoundly human as they are, these figures are not portraits, they are merely types; both form and features are generalized in the true Greek fashion; it is the inscription alone that commemorates the individual. These tombal *reliefs* tell us of self-restraint, of obedience to inflexible law, but they seem already shrouded in the twilight of the dim under-world, and they are overshadowed by the deep sadness of the eternal separation. The Renaissance tomb lacks this universal humanity, it is intensely individual, it preserves the actual semblance of the departed, it betrays the desire for posthumous fame so characteristic of the epoch, it represents death as but a brief sleep, angel-guarded, and it suggests a glorious resurrection and a personal immortality.

[15] Certain critics attribute these buildings, executed under Nicholas V., rather to Bernardo di Lorenzo than to Bernardo Rossellino. Milanesi considers this attribution to be wholly mistaken, and resting upon no proof, whereas Bernardo Rossellino certainly was in the service of Pope Nicholas.

[16] Bernardo built at Pienza the church, town-hall, bishop's palace, and the Piccolomini palace. These edifices show great similarity to the work of Leon Battista Alberti, and certain critics affirm that the Rucellai palace at Florence is more probably by Rossellino than by Alberti. Bernardo was also architect of the Piccolomini palace at Siena. In 1433 he sculptured a tabernacle for the convent of SS. Flora e Lucilla d'Arezzo, and another in 1436 for the Badia of Florence. These tabernacles are not mentioned by Vasari.

This he enlarged where it was too closely restricted, and brought the whole place into good order, erecting a range of shops around it, which are very useful as well as commodious and handsome. He then restored the church of San Francesco in the same place, which was going to ruin; and at Gualdo he rebuilt the church of San Benedetto, we may almost say, entirely anew, considering the addition of handsome and well constructed buildings which he made to it. In Assisi, the church of San Francesco was greatly damaged in some parts, and in others were threatening to fall; this building, he likewise repaired and strengthened most thoroughly, covering it also with a new roof. At Civita Vecchia, Bernardo erected many beautiful and magnificent edifices; and at Civita Castellana, he rebuilt more than a third of the city walls in a very good manner. At Narni, also, he rebuilt and enlarged the fortress, adding to it strong and handsome walls. At Orvieto, this artist likewise erected a large fortress, with a most beautiful palace, a work of great cost and no less magnificence.[17] At Spoleto, in like manner, he enlarged and strengthened the fortress, constructing dwelling-places therein, so handsome, commodious, and well-arranged, that nothing better can be seen. He restored the baths of Viterbo at great expense and with a most regal spirit, erecting residences there, calculated, not for the rich* only, who daily go to bathe there, but worthy to be the lodging of the greatest princes.[18]

All these buildings were executed at the command of Pope Nicholas V., by Bernardo, in places distant from Rome; but for that city itself he restored, and in many places renewed, the walls which were for the most part in ruins; adding to them certain towers, and comprehending in these, additional fortifications, which he erected outside of the Castle St. Angelo, besides numerous rooms and decorations which he

* *Ammalati* means the sick, not the rich.

[17] Della Valle, quoted by Milanesi, affirms that the Orvietan fortress greatly antedates Bernardo. Many of the palaces were built by Ippolito Scalza, and it is not known which ones were designed by Bernardo.

[18] These buildings had already fallen into decay when Bottari wrote in 1759.

constructed within. This Pontiff had it also in mind to restore and gradually to rebuild, as the occasion should demand, the forty Churches of the Stations instituted by Pope Gregory I., who was called Gregory the Great, and he did complete that work in a great measure, having restored Santa Maria Trastevere, Santa Prassedia, San Teodoro, San Pietro in Vincula, and many others of the minor churches. But with still greater spirit, magnificence, and care was the same work accomplished for six of the greater and principal churches—San Giovanni Laterano, for example, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santo Stephano, in Monte Celio, Sant' Apostolo, San Paolo, and San Lorenzo, *extra muros.*[19] Of San Pietro I do not speak, because this constitutes an undertaking apart.

Pope Nicholas V. had also proposed to make the Vatican itself into a separate city, and to surround it with fortifications; in pursuance of this plan, he had three roads laid out which should lead to San Pietro; two of these being, as I believe, where the Borgo Vecchio and Borgo Nuovo now are. These he was covering in certain parts with Loggie, containing very convenient shops: the richer and more important trades being separated from the minor and poorer, each class of trades established being in a street by itself. The Round Tower, still called *Torrione di Niccola,* was already completed. Over these shops and Loggie were to be erected commodious and magnificent houses in a fine style of architecture, and these were so designed that they were defended and sheltered from all those winds which in Rome are considered insalubrious, and were moreover freed from all the inconveniences of water and other disadvantages likely to generate malaria. All which would have been completed by that Pontiff, had his life been prolonged but for a short time, he being of a great and most determined

[19] There is no documentary proof that Bernardo Rossellino did anything in Rome except superintend certain buildings at San Stefano Rotondo, and other masters are recorded as the authors of some of the architectural works mentioned by Vasari.

spirit, well informed also, and so thoroughly skilled in such undertakings, that he directed and governed the architects no less than he was counselled and guided by them. And this is a state of things which causes great undertakings to be brought easily to a successful termination, for when the founder of the building understands for himself, and is capable of instant decision, the works go forward, but when he is incapable and irresolute, he stands undecided between the yes and the no, suffering time to pass unprofitably amidst various designs and opinions, while nothing useful is effected. But respecting this design of Nicholas, there is no need to say anything more, since it was not carried into effect.

This Pontiff, likewise proposed to reconstruct the papal palace in so vast and magnificent a style, and with so much beauty and convenience, that, in every point of view, it should be the most splendid and extensive building in Christendom. He intended that it should not only be a suitable residence for the person of the supreme Pontiff, the chief of all Christians, and that of the sacred college of cardinals, who, as being his council and assistants, ought to be ever near him; but he also desired that all offices for business of whatever kind, despatches, legal affairs, and all others connected with the Court, should be comprised within it; insomuch, that all these buildings, thus assembled together, offices, courts, and the household, would have presented imposing magnificence, and, if such a term may be used for such a purpose, would have produced a pompous grandeur of inconceivable effect. But what is even much more, preparations were to have been made for the reception of emperors, kings, dukes, and other Christian princes, who, whether for their affairs, or from devotion, should visit that most holy apostolic seat. And who will believe that Pope Nicholas would also have constructed there a theatre for the coronation of the Pontiffs, with gardens, loggie, aqueducts, fountains, chapels, libraries, and a most sumptuous building set apart for the conclave? This building (I know not

whether I should call it a palace, a castle, or a city) would certainly have been the most superb edifice that had ever been erected, so far as we know, from the creation of the world to the present day. What dignity would it not have imparted to the holy Roman church, to see the supreme Pontiff, the chief thereof, assemble around him all the servants and ministers of God dwelling in the city of Rome, and unite them as in a renowned and most holy monastery, where, as it were in a new terrestrial Paradise, they might have lived a heavenly, angelic, and most holy life, presenting an example to all Christendom, and awakening even the minds of infidels to the true worship of God and the blessed Saviour! But this vast work was left incomplete by the death of the Pope, nay, rather it was scarcely commenced; the little that was done may be known by his arms, or what he used as arms, which were two keys laid cross-wise on a field of red. The fifth work which this Pontiff had proposed to himself to execute, was the church of San Pietro, which he had designed to make so vast, so rich, and so splendidly adorned, that it were better to be silent respecting it than to commence the recital, since I could not fittingly describe even the smallest part of the work, and should fail all the more certainly, because the model prepared for this building has been lost, and others have since been made by other architects. But whoever shall desire to form a clear conception of the great designs entertained in this matter by Pope Nicholas V., let him read what Giannozzo Manetti, a noble and learned Florentine citizen, has written very circumstantially in the life of that Pontiff. For the designs of all the works projected as above described by Pope Nicholas, as well as for others, the latter is said to have availed himself of the genius and great industry of Bernardo Rossellino.[20]

[20] In the Museo Nazionale of Florence are busts of a San Giovannino and of Battista Sforza, by Bernardo Rossellino; also a *tondo* by Antonio, of the Madonna and Child, and a bust of Matteo Palmieri. At the South Kensington Museum is the bust of Giovanni da San Miniato, Doctor of Arts and of Medicine, 1476, by Antonio (for a fine reproduction, see J. C. Robinson's folio work, South Kensington Museum Italian Sculpture, plate XVIII.), while

Antonio, the brother of Bernardo,[21] [22] (to return at length to the point, whence, for so fair a purpose, I departed), Antonio executed his labours in sculpture, about the year 1490; and as men for the most part admire such works as are seen to have been produced with care and difficulty, and as his

Dr. Bode claims for him as well several large clay reliefs, a Madonna with the Christ Child, in the Berlin Museum, and another in the Hainauer collection. The former is the original study for the *tondo* in the Museo Nazionale of Florence, and like most of the terra-cotta studies is superior to the completed marble. A man's bust from the Guadagni Palace of Florence is also attributed to Antonio, and Herr von Fabriczy ascribes to him the Solarolo Madonna which Signor Argnani, of Faenza, accredits to Donatello. Two reliefs, the Assumption and the story of St. Stephen, in the pulpit of the cathedral of Prato, are by Antonio, and far surpass the other sculptures there by Mino. See Milanesi. Works in terra-cotta became frequent at this epoch; the terra-cotta is sometimes glazed *terra invetriata*, as in the case of the Robbias, sometimes painted in oil (see the Niccolo d'Uzzano of Donatello), and sometimes has only the natural color of the baked clay. M. Louis Courajod (see Bibliography) and J. C. Robinson, in his South Kensington Catalogue, are of the opinion that nearly all terra-cottas up to the end of the fifteenth century were colored, and that gilding was almost invariably used upon certain portions of *bas-reliefs*.

[21] Apparently Antonio died about 1479. That was the last year in which he is recorded as having paid taxes. Bernardo Rossellino, born 1409, was buried in Sta. Maria Novella, September 23, 1464.

[22] The Rosellini belong to the group of eclectic sculptors who sacrificed some of Donatello's vigor to the striving for religious expression and elegance of form. They are "thoughtful and laborious, if not powerful," says M. Müntz, who adds that to this group, including Desiderio and Mino, "is due in great part the high perfection of Florentine Art." Distinction and refinement, together with exquisite taste in the arrangement of ornament and detail, belong to all of these sculptors. Symonds, in his Fine Arts, says that these artists "voluntarily imposed upon their genius" limitation to such effects as could be obtained by "suavity of expression, delicacy of feeling, urbanity of style," and he believes that their charm of manner can hardly be defined except by similes, such as "the melody of a lute as distinguished from that of an orchestra." Although these eclectics have left no such immortal works as the gates of Ghiberti, the *Zuccone* of Donatello, the Colleone of Verrocchio, the *Cantoria* of della Robbia, yet they are the authors (Benedetto and Mino, that is, as well as the Rosellini and Matteo da Civitale) of the countless fountains and friezes and bordered panels, the festoons of marble fruit which hang down over tombs, the acanthus scroll-work climbing the walls of churches, in fact of all that lovely decorative detail which is so essentially of the *quattrocento*, that it, even more than the masterpieces of their greater contemporaries, stands for us as the very sign-manual of the Italian Renaissance.

labours are distinguished for these two qualities, he deserves and has obtained fame and honour, as an illustrious example from which modern sculptors may learn how those statues should be executed which are calculated, by the difficulties they present, to secure the greatest amount of praise and renown. For after Donatello, it is Antonio, who has effected the most towards adding a certain delicacy and refinement to works in sculpture, seeking to perforate in some parts, and in others to round his figures in such a manner, that they appear in full relief and well finished in every part, a point which until that time had not been seen to be so perfectly attended to in sculpture, but the method, having been first introduced by him, has since, in the times more immediately following, and in our own, been ever adopted and acknowledged to be admirable.

DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO,[1] SCULPTOR

[Born 1428; died 1464.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—W. Bode, *Desiderio*, in the Dohme series of *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. Dr. Bode, both in the *Jahrbuch*, the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, and the *Archivio Storico*, has written much of late concerning Desiderio. W. Bode, *Desiderio da Settignano und Francesco Laurana, Die wahre Büste der Marietta Strozzi, Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, Vol. IX., No. 4, and Vol. X., No. 1., Berlin, 1888–89. W. Bode, *Zwei Italienische Frauenbüsten des Quattrocento im Berliner Museum, Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, Vol. XI. H. Von Tschudi, *Donatello e la Critica Moderna*, Turin, 1887.

VERY great is the amount of gratitude which is due to Heaven and to Nature, from those who are able to produce their works without effort and with a certain grace which others cannot impart to their productions, whether by study or imitation. For this is in truth a gift of Heaven, showered, so to speak, over certain works in such a manner that they bear about them a loveliness and attraction which draw towards them not only those who are well versed in art, but even many who are not connected with it. And this proceeds from the idea of ease and facility which the truly good presents, never offering to the eyes that hard and crude aspect so frequently given to works produced painfully and with laboured efforts; by such grace and simplicity, which pleases universally and is understood by all, are distinguished the works performed by Desiderio.

Many affirm, that this artist belonged to Settignano, a place two miles distant from Florence, while others con-

[1] Desiderio (di Bartolommeo di Francesco) was born at Settignano, and was the son of a mason, Bartolommeo di Francesco, called Ferro. He had two brothers, Francesco and Geri, and Geri was afterward adopted as the family name.

sider him a Florentine; but this is of little consequence, seeing that the two places are so near together. Desiderio imitated the manner of Donato,[2] although he was himself endowed by nature with the power of imparting extraordinary grace and loveliness to his heads;[3] and the faces of his women and children exhibit the most charming sweetness and the softest delicacy, qualities which he derived so much from nature by whom he was disposed to the art, as from the zeal and study wherewith he disciplined and exercised his genius. Desiderio worked in his youth on the pedestal of Donato's David, which is in the ducal palace of Florence, and on this he executed harpies in marble, of extraordinary merit, as also vine-leaves, with their tendrils, in bronze, which are very graceful and most ably executed.[4] On the façade of the Gianfigliazzi palace, he sculptured the armorial bearings[5] of the family, of a large size and very finely done, with a lion, which is most beautiful; and other works in stone now dispersed over different parts of the city. For the church of the Carmine, Desiderio carved an Angel[6] in wood, which was placed in the chapel of the Brancacci; and in the church of San Lorenzo he completed the decorations, in marble, for the chapel of the Sacrament, a work which he conducted with great diligence to the utmost perfection. In this chapel there was the figure of a child by our artist, in full relief, which was removed from its place,[7] and is now wont to be set upon the altar on the

[2] In this we cannot agree, for it is dramatic, vigorous, and energetic, while that of Desiderio is quiet, gentle, and unimpassioned. We have little to judge him by—a bust, a monument, and a tabernacle—but these are sufficient to show his exquisite taste in ornament, his great technical skill, and his originality.—C. C. Perkins's Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture. Since this was written the list of works attributed to Desiderio has been increased by a number of busts.

[3] In his *Cronaca Rimata* Giovanni Santi says of Desiderio, "*Il bravo Desider si dolce e bello.*"

[4] This pedestal is lost.

[5] Which have been restored.

[6] The angel is lost.

[7] In 1677 these sculptures were taken to the opposite side of the church, and the little Christ was restored to its old place upon the monument. See

feast of the Nativity, as an extraordinary thing; and in its stead another was made by Baccio da Montelupo, also in marble, which stands constantly on the tabernacle of the Sacrament. In Santa Maria Novella, Desiderio constructed the marble sepulchre of the Beata Villana,[8] a work wherein there are certain little angels which are very graceful, as is the portrait of the Beata herself, taken from the life. She does not seem to be dead, but merely asleep. For the Nuns of the Murate likewise he executed a small figure of the Virgin, to stand on a column in a tabernacle, which is also in a very pleasing and graceful manner, insomuch that both these works were always held in the utmost esteem, and are still very highly prized.[9] Desiderio executed the marble tabernacle of the Sacrament in the church of San Pietro Maggiore, with his accustomed diligence; and although there are no figures in this work, it gives evidence, nevertheless, of a very fine manner, and has infinite grace, like all the other works by his hand.[10] This artist sculptured the portrait of Marietta degli Strozzi,[11] likewise in marble, and

Milanesi. This infant Christ is among the most charming statues of the Renaissance. M. Müntz notes (*Les Primitifs*) that a marble statuette greatly resembling it was left to the Louvre by Baron Davillier. See also the statuette in the Duomo of Prato, nearly identical in character.

[8] The tomb of the Beata Villana is by Bernardo Rossellino. See his Life.

[9] It was broken by accident in 1557, put together again, but was coarsely painted and badly damaged. It was finally placed in the small oratory of S. M. delle Nevi. See Milanesi, Vol. II., p. 109.

[10] In 1784, the church being destroyed, this *ciborium* was carried to a marble shop in the Piazza Madonna. Milanesi in his last edition could no longer account for its whereabouts.

[11] Dr. Bode (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1888) refuses for technical reasons to credit the bust of Marietta Strozzi in the Berlin Gallery to Desiderio, and attributes it to Francesco Laurana, the medallist and sculptor; Sig. Carotti combats this attribution. Dr. Bode also remarks that Marietta was but sixteen years old when Desiderio died, while the bust is that of a person at least ten years older. Dr. Bode is, however, convinced that the Berlin Gallery possesses two busts which really are by Desiderio. One is of a young girl, the material is marble, and the writer suggests that the bust may have come from the Medici palace in Florence. The other bust, which is in calcareous stone, came from the Ducal Palace of Urbino, is of about the year 1460, and according to Dr. Bode, is probably a portrait of one of the daughters of Duke

taken from the life, and, as the Lady was exceedingly beautiful, the bust is a very admirable one.

The tomb of Messer Carlo Marsuppini,[12] of Arezzo, in the church of Santa Croce, was also erected by this master, and the work not only caused amazement in the artists and other well-informed persons, who then examined it, but continues to surprise all who see it in the present day: Desiderio having executed foliage on the sarcophagus, which, although somewhat hard and dry, yet, as but few antiquities had at that time been discovered, was then considered a very beautiful thing. Again, among other particulars of this work, are certain wings which form part of the ornaments of the sarcophagus, and seem rather to be of actual feathers than of stone, a thing very difficult to produce in marble, since it is almost impossible to copy hair and feathers with the chisel.* There are, besides, several Children and Angels, executed in a manner which is truly beautiful and animated. The figure of the Dead, a portrait from nature, extended on the tomb, is of the utmost excellence;

Federigo. For fine reproductions of these busts see the *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, Vol. VIII., p. 32, and Vol. VIII., p. 112. The former reproduces also a clay bust recently acquired, and which Dr. Bode believes to be a study for the Berlin marble. Dr. Bode thinks that a bust lately found in a villa of the Strozzi, near Florence, is the true and original portrait of Marietta Strozzi. See the *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, Vol. X., p. 28, *Die Wahre Büste der Marietta Strozzi*, and Vol. XI., p. 209, *Zwei Italienische Frauenbüsten*, etc. The bust called a Princess of Urbino has also been named, though with no certain proof, Antonietta des Baux, wife of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga. See *L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, II., 168.

* The translator has here omitted a meaningless, or at best a fantastic, sentence: "There is a marble niche more living than if it were of bone."

[12] Carlo di Gregorio Marsuppini, who died about 1455, was Secretary to the Florentine Republic. This tomb is a marked contrast to the Bruni tomb, which is opposite it. The work of Desiderio is less grave and classical, but is spontaneous, original, and unusual. Owing to the symmetrical disposition and the delicacy of the work, the monument does not appear overloaded, although nearly every portion of it is filled with ornament. Altogether it is one of the two or three most beautiful tombs in Tuscany. Speaking of it M. Müntz says: "Here one sees the pupil of Donatello less universal than his master, but more chastened, sometimes more subtle, and with more of *morbidezza*."—*Les Primitifs*, p. 548.

and on a medallion is the effigy of Our Lady in basso-rilievo, treated after the manner of Donato, and finished with great judgment as well as extraordinary grace. These qualities are likewise to be remarked in many other bassi-rilievi in marble by Desiderio, some of which are in the *guardaroba* of the lord Duke Cosimo, more particularly a medallion with the head of Jesus Christ, and that of John the Baptist, as a child.[13] At the foot of Messer Carlo's tomb, Desiderio laid a large stone to the memory of Messer Giorgio,[14] a renowned doctor and legist, who was secretary to the Signoria of Florence, with a basso-rilievo, which is very beautiful, and wherein is the portrait of Messer Giorgio, clothed in the robes of a doctor, according to the fashion of that time.

Had not death so prematurely deprived the world of that powerful mind which thus laboured with such admirable effect, Desiderio would, without doubt, have profited to such extent by the experience of the future, as to have surpassed all others, as much in knowledge of art as he did in grace. But the thread of his life was cut short at the age of twenty-eight,[15] to the deep grief of all those who had hoped to be-

[13] This work is lost.

[14] This slab still exists, but is much injured by the feet of passers. Richa copied the now illegible inscription; it proved this Marsuppini to be Gregorio, not Giorgio, and secretary, not of the Florentine Signoria, but of Charles VI., king of France. See Milanesi.

[15] Desiderio died, aged thirty-six, January 16, 1464, and was buried in San Piero Maggiore. He left a statue of a Penitent Magdalen partially completed. It was finished by Benedetto of Majano, and is in the Santa Trinità. A *stiacciato* relief of the Madonna and Child in the Via Cavour at Florence is attributed to Desiderio. H. von Tschudi, in *Donatello e la Critica Moderna*, has claimed for Desiderio several children's busts, including the famous Laughing Child of the Miller collection. M. Müntz (*Les Primitifs*) cannot admit this last attribution, considering that the frankness of the expression and sureness of handling could only have come from Donatello. This objection seems a fair one, nevertheless there is a something in the Laughing Child which is very suggestive of Desiderio, and which seems like the supreme expression of just what Desiderio most admired in Donatello, and best assimilated, adding a refinement, a certain *précieux* quality of his own not found in the greater master's work. The Museo Borromeo at Milan contains a *bustino* which resembles the children's busts in the Vanchettoni church of Florence, and if the latter are by Desiderio, as has been suggested, the Borromeo bust may be also

hold the perfection, to which such a genius would have attained in its maturity, and who were more than dismayed by so great a loss. He was followed by his relations and numerous friends to the church of the Servites; and on his tomb there continued for a long time to be placed epigrams and sonnets, from the number of which it shall suffice me to insert the following :—

Come vide natura
Dar Desiderio ai freddi marmi vita,
E poter la scultura
Agguagliar sua bellezza alma e infinita,
Si fermò sbigottita
E disse; omai sarà mia gloria oscura.
E piena d' alto sdegno
Troncò la vita a cosi bell' ingegno
Ma in van, perchè costui
Diè vita eterna ai marmi, e i marmi a lui.

The works of Desiderio were performed about the year 1485. He left the sketched figure of a Magdalene in penitence, which was finished at a later period by Benedetto da Maiano, and is now in the church of Santa Trinità at Florence, on the right as you enter the church. This figure is beautiful beyond the power of words to express. In our book are certain drawings by Desiderio,[16] which are very fine; his

included among his works. See G. Frizzoni, *L'Arch. Stor.*, III., 349. Signor Umberto Rossi, *L'Arch. Stor.*, VI. (*Il Museo Nazionale di Firenze nel Triennio*, 1889–1891), gives a reproduction (p. 15) of a bronze head of a child in the Bargello which he attributes to Desiderio. There is in the Berlin Museum a bust of a child accredited by Dr. Bode to Desiderio, which was bought originally by Herr Semper from the Barberini palace, went thence to Vienna, and lastly to Berlin.

[16] Had Desiderio left nothing but the Marsuppini tomb he would have been famous. Perhaps no sculptor ever succeeded in making a monument so intensely rich and yet avoided giving any sense of overloaded ornament. Taste and refinement are the words which come first to the mind in describing it, but behind these two qualities is a delicate individuality which surpasses both. The tomb of Marsuppini will always be accounted among the glorious productions of the Renaissance, and as a title of immortality to the young sculptor, whose remaining works are so few. He was pre-eminently fitted to be a

portrait I have obtained from some of his connections in Settignano.

scholar of Donatello, for he was capable at once of appreciating Donatello's strength and his sweetness, those characteristics of the master which are seen in his *putti* of the Prato pulpit, the Sienese font and the Santa Croce Annunciation. Desiderio's children have not the robustness of Donatello's, some of them are almost fragile ; the artist is already following the current of the fifteenth-century sculpture, which set in the direction of grace and tenderness, but he still preserves his own strong individuality, and therein he stands higher than do any of the eclectics who immediately surrounded him. He seems an exemplification of one side of Donatello's talent spiritualized and refined into less of strength and more of sweetness, a sweetness, however, which is wholly sane and healthy. M. Müntz (*Les Primitifs*) calls him "the most *spirituel* of the second generation of Florentine sculptors, the best endowed of those who followed the manner of Donatello."

MINO DA FIESOLE, SCULPTOR[1]

[Born 1431; died 1484.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—D. Gnoli, *Le Opere di Mino da Fiesole in Roma*, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II., 455; III., 89, 175, 258, 424. D. Gnoli, *Ricostruzione del monumento del Cardinale Forteguerri, di Mino da Fiesole*, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., 208. *Basso-rilievi di Mino da Fiesole*, article by Adolfo Venturi in *l'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., 412. H. von Tschudi, *Das Confession's Tabernakel Sixtus IV. in S. Peter zu Rom*, *Jahrbuch K. P. S.*, VIII., 1. W. Bode, *Mino da Fiesole*, in the Dohme series of *Kunst und Künstler des Mittalters und der Neuzeit.*

WHEN artists seek no more, in the works they produce, than to imitate their masters, or some other eminent person, whose manner may please them, in the attitudes of their figures, the air of their heads, or the folds of their draperies, and confine themselves to the

[1] Mino di Giovanni di Mino was born about 1430, 1431 (a misprint in Gaye makes it 1400). He is registered in a book of the master-carvers in stone and wood as a native of Poppi in the Casentino, *Minus Johannis Mini de Pupio* [Poppi], matriculated July 28, 1464. Milanesi accepts this entry and considers him as Mino da Poppi and not da Fiesole, but another book, the one called *il rosso*, the red book, belonging to the same art guild, speaks of him as Mino da Fiesole. See Milanesi, III., p. 116, note 3 †. Sig. Domenico Gnoli, in an important series of articles, *Le Opere di Mino da Fiesole in Roma*, published in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, has nearly doubled our knowledge of this sculptor. He has established the facts, first, that Rome was the real theatre of Mino's activity; second, that fifteenth-century work in Rome was almost ignored by Vasari, the latter failing to even record works which he would have celebrated with high praise had they been in Florence; third, he has proved by examination, analysis, and photographic reproduction that many Roman works denied to Mino by Perkins are his, wholly or in part. Sig. Gnoli, in speaking of the Tuscan neglect of Roman fifteenth-century work, notes the fact that tradition regarding art work is preserved in the families of the artists who execute and of the patrons who order it; but that in Rome the artists were but transient, and did not settle with their families in the city, while the patrons, being churchmen, celibates, and only elective princes, were also transient and had no families. In addition to this the pomp and splendor of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Rome have caused the elegant but more simple work of the fifteenth century to be forgotten.

studying of these particulars; although with time and labour, they may execute works similar to those they admire, yet they never attain, by these means alone, to the perfection of their art, since it is obvious that he rarely presses forward who is content to follow behind.[2] And the imitation of Nature herself is at an end for that artist whom long practice has confirmed in the manner he has adopted: for as imitation is the fixed art of representing exactly what you desire to copy, so it is a very fine thing, provided that you take pure Nature only for your guide, without the intervention of your master's manner, or that of others, who have also reduced to a manner what they first took from Nature: seeing that, however truthful and natural the works of any master may appear, it is not possible that with all his diligence, he can make it such as that it shall be equal to Nature herself, nay, even though he select the best parts, he can never set them together into a body of such perfection as to make Art outstrip Nature. Then, if this be so, it follows, that objects taken directly from Nature are alone calculated to make painting and sculpture perfect, and that he who studies artists only, and not bodies and things natural, must of necessity have his works inferior to the reality, nay, less excellent than those of the master from whom he takes his manner. Accordingly, it has happened to many of our artists, that not having studied anything but the manner of their masters, and having thus left Nature out of view, they have failed to acquire any knowledge of her, neither have they got beyond the master they have imitated, but have done great wrong to their own genius. Whereas, if they had studied the manner of their masters and natural objects at the same time, they would have produced more effectual fruits than they have now done. An instance of this may be seen in the works of the sculptor, Mino da Fiesole, who, possessing genius whereby he might have accomplished whatever he had chosen to attempt was yet so enamoured of the manner

[2] This is a saying of Michelangelo's.

of his master, Desiderio da Settignano,[3] that the grace imparted by that artist to his heads of women, to his boys, and to all other figures executed by him, appeared to Mino something superior to Nature herself; insomuch that, solely occupied in following his master, he abandoned the study of natural objects as superfluous, whence he became rather graceful in manner than solidly based in art.

It was on the hill of Fiesole, a most ancient city, now in decay, near to Florence, that the sculptor, Mino di Giovanni was born: and he, being placed as a stone-cutter with Desiderio da Settignano, a young sculptor of great excellence, displayed much attachment to his calling; and while occupied with the squaring of stones, he acquired the art of imitating in *terra* the works executed by Desiderio in marble. These he copied so closely, that his master seeing him likely to make progress in art, took pains to bring him forward, and set him to execute certain parts of the sculptures in marble on which he was himself engaged. Thus employed, Mino gave the most earnest attention to his work, keeping carefully close to the sketch before him; nor had any long time elapsed before he attained to considerable proficiency. This pleased Desiderio greatly, but still more entirely was Mino satisfied with the great kindness of his master, whom he found always ready to instruct him how best to avoid the errors into which those who exercise that art are liable to fall. When Mino was thus entering on the path to excellence in his profession, his evil fortune would have it that Desiderio should depart to a better life; and this loss was so great a calamity to Mino, that, full of despair, he departed from Florence, like one desperate, and repaired to Rome. In that city he became assistant to the

[3] As he was only two or three years younger than Desiderio, it is unlikely that he was the latter's pupil. A bust of Niccolo Strozzi in Berlin, dated 1454, is Mino's earliest work, if genuine, as claimed in Berlin. It is signed Nino, not Mino, and Sig. Gnoli doubts its authenticity, since the next work of Mino, in point of date, the Rinaldo della Luna (Bargello), is of 1461. Sig. Gnoli, however, says that he knows the work only by reproductions, and Dr. Bode believes in its authenticity.

masters who were then occupied with different works in marble (tombs of cardinals and other things), for the church of San Pietro, but which in the erection of the new fabric, have now been destroyed. Mino soon became known as an able and experienced artist, and he was engaged by the Cardinal Guglielmo Destovilla,[4] whom his manner greatly pleased, to construct the marble altar in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, beneath which repose the remains of San Girolamo (St. Jerome.) This he decorated with stories in basso-rilievo, the subjects being events in the life of the Saint, a work which he conducted to great perfection, adding the portrait of the cardinal taken from the life.[5]

Pope Paul II., a Venetian, was at this time erecting his

[4] D'Estouteville, rather. Cardinal Montalto, afterward Sixtus V., demolished this altar of San Girolamo, and Mino's sculptures disappeared; lately, in opening the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, some reliefs were found, and having been taken to the Museo Industriale were identified by Sig. Adolfo Venturi as from the S. Girolamo altar. They are in very low relief and are inferior works. Vasari mentions the altar, but forgets the *ciborium* in the same church, one of the most important works of Mino. It was broken to pieces, but all the fragments, including the sixteen *tondi*, are still preserved, except the four angle statues, which, incredible as it appears, were sold in 1872 to a Roman merchant for one hundred and twenty-five francs apiece. The large reliefs are still in the apse of the church, the other sculptures are in the *aula capitolare*, near the sacristy. Sig. Gnoli thinks that this *ciborium* would have been famous if in Florence; he gives a reproduction of a reconstruction of it, *l'Arch. Stor.*, Vol. III., p. 90, and of the Madonna from the same on p. 92. The Madonnas of the *ciborium* had round faces and full throats (unlike Mino's other statues of women) in order that they might resemble the revered Madonna of the basilica, painted, according to the tradition of the place, by St. Luke. Sig. Gnoli assigns the date 1463–64 to the *ciborium*.

[5] The monument of Cardinal Niccolo Forteguerri in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, erected in 1473–1480, is, says Sig. Gnoli, the true brother (*fratello carnale*) of the Badia monument of Florence. Some angels upon it, and the Saints Niccolo and Cecilia, are not by the hand of Mino. Sig. Gnoli found its columns in the subterranean vaults of the church, and the Minister of Public Instruction has, at the suggestion of the finder, had the monument set up, thus accomplishing, says Sig. Gnoli, the first reconstruction in Rome of a true Renaissance monument, the only one in the city, "*di tipo prettamente Fiorentino*." Vasari evidently did not know of this monument. See *l'Arch. Stor.*, III., 209. Cardinal Forteguerri has also an honorary tomb in Pistoja (see the life of Verrocchio).

palace of San Marco,[6] and employed Mino to execute certain armorial bearings for its decoration. After the death of that Pontiff, the commission for constructing his tomb was given to Mino, who erected it in San Pietro, where he completed the whole in the space of two years. This tomb was at that time considered the most magnificent and most richly decorated sepulchre that had ever been erected to any Pontiff whatever ; it was cast down by Bramante in the demolition of San Pietro, and remained buried amidst the rubbish for several years ; but in 1547, certain Venetians caused it to be reconstructed in the old building of San Pietro, against a wall near the chapel of Pope Innocent.[7] And although some believe that that tomb is by the hand of Mino del Reame, who lived about the same time [8] with Mino da Fiesole, it is without doubt by the latter. It is true that some of the small figures of the basement, which can be distinguished from the rest, were executed by Mino del Reame, if, indeed, his name were Mino, and not Dino, as some affirm that it was. But to return to our artist.[9] When he had

[6] In the church of San Marco are a tabernacle and two reliefs by Mino. Sig. Gnoli considers that these formed an *ensemble* together with reliefs by other hands, and gives a suggestion of a reconstruction (*l'Arch. Stor.*, III., p. 271). He believes from the eagle sculptured upon it that the tabernacle was ordered by Cardinal Agnifilo (Aquilano).

[7] Commissioned by Marco Barbo, Cardinal San Marco, and patriarch of Aquileia (see Milanesi). It is now in the Grotte Vaticane. Sig. Gnoli believes that the tomb of Pope Paul II. was allotted to Mino and Giovanni Dalmata together. Mino's share was two angels upon the sarcophagus, a relief of the Last Judgment, which is Mino's largest composition extant ; the Temptation of Eve, the Evangelists Luke and John, and figures of Faith and Charity. The Adam and Eve are Lost. The *zoccolo* or lower portion of the monument is in the Louvre. A bust of Pope Paul, attributed by Vasari to Vellano (Bellano) of Padua, but really by Mino, is reproduced in the *L'Arch. Stor.*, Vol. III., p. 263.

[8] Vasari, says Sig. Gnoli, probably confused this name of Mino del Reame with Paolo Romano, as the *frontone* of the door to S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli in Rome bears two angels, one signed *Opus Pauli*, the other *Opus Mini*. This door dates from 1463, according to Sig. Gnoli.

[9] No trace remains of the benedictory pulpit of Pius II., while documents amply prove its existence in 1443. On the other hand, a *ciborium* for Sixtus IV. is not mentioned by any documents, but still remains in a fragmentary condition in the Grotte Vaticane. Sig. Gnoli believes that the lost pulpit

acquired a name in Rome by this tomb, and by the sarcophagus which he constructed in the church of the Minerva, for Francesco Tornabuoni,[10] whose statue is marble, after the life, and considered an admirable work, he placed upon it.[11] After these and other works had secured him an esteemed name I say, he returned to Fiesole with but short delay, bearing thither a tolerable amount of money which he had saved, and there he took a wife. No long time after that, he was employed by the Nuns of the Murate to construct a marble tabernacle, decorated in mezzo-rilievo, for the sacrament, a work which he conducted to perfection with all the diligence of which he was capable.[12] He had not yet fixed the tabernacle into its place, when the Nuns of Sant' Ambruogio (who desired to have an ornament of similar construction, but more richly adorned, to contain the Miracle of the Sacrament), having heard the ability of Mino greatly extolled, invited him to execute that work ;[13]

was utilized for the making of this *ciborium*. There are twelve Apostles remaining, three of which are by Mino, while another is partially by him; certain other figures are by Giovanni Dalmata.

[10] The Tornabuoni tomb was Mino's last work in Rome.

[11] According to Perkins (Tuscan Sculptors, Vol. I., p. 113) this tomb of Tornabuoni, as well as the tombs of Bishop Piccolomini in the cloister of S. Agostino, of Riario in the SS. Apostoli, of the Savelli in the Aracoeli, the Borgia altar in S. M. del Popolo, and other sculptures attributed to Mino in the Lateran and the Minerva, are not by Mino, but by imitators of his style, his only well-authenticated work in Rome being the tabernacle of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Sig. Gnoli has in part disproved these statements of Perkins, and by analysis and careful examination has shown that some of these works are wholly or partially by Mino. See preceding notes. Thus on the tomb of Cardinal Pietro Riario (*circa* 1475), in the church of the SS. Apostli, Rome, the Madonna is, according to Sig. Gnoli, by Mino. In the monument of Cardinal Ammanati (died 1479), in the Chiostro Verde di Sant' Agostino (now Ministry of the Marine), only the upper part of the monument is by Mino, and in spite of Herr von Tschudi's dictum, Sig. Gnoli gives only the Madonna to Mino in the monument of Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere, in Santa Maria del Popolo. The same may be said of Cardinal Ferricci's tomb (1478), in the cloister of the Minerva. The *Archivio Storico*, Vol. III., 433, also reproduces a Madonna found lately in the hospital of San Giovanni in Laterano.

[12] Now in the chapel of the Novitiate, Santa Croce.

[13] In 1481 ; it is still in place. It commemorates the following miracle : A

and the master completed it with so much care, that the Nuns, highly satisfied with his labours, gave him all that he demanded as the price thereof. A short time after this, he undertook, at the instance of Messer Dietisalvi Neroni, to prepare a picture in mezzo-rilievo,[14] the subject of which is Our Lady with the Child in her arms, having San Lorenzo on one side, and San Lionardo on the other ; this was intended for the priests of the chapter of San Lorenzo, but has remained in the sacristy of the Abbey of Florence. For the same monks, Mino executed a medallion in marble, with Our Lady, in relief, holding the Divine Child in her arms ; this they placed over the principal door of entrance into the church ; [15] and as it gave universal satisfaction, the artist received a commission for the erection of a sepulchral monument to the illustrious cavalier, Messer Bernardo de' Giugni, who, having been a most honourable person, and very highly esteemed, had merited and received that memorial from his brethren. In this work, to say nothing of the sarcophagus, and the portrait of Messer Bernardo, taken from nature, which the artist placed on it, there is a figure of Justice, which is very much after the manner of Desiderio, but the draperies are wanting in grace, and are rendered somewhat common-place by the mode of handling. This monument caused the abbot and monks of the Abbey of Florence, in which building it was erected, to entrust Mino with that of Count Ugo,[16] son of the Marquis Uberto di Madeborgo, who bequeathed large possessions to that Abbey, on which he also conferred many privileges. Wherefore, the Monks desiring to do him all possible honour, caused Mino to prepare a sepulchral monument in marble

priest having neglected to clean the chalice after mass found clots of blood in it the next day.

[14] It was executed in 1470, and is in a chapel off the cloister.

[15] This work is still in place.

[16] See the story in Malespina, *Hist. di Firenze*, pp. 37, 38. Ugo is mentioned in the *Paradiso*, canto xvi. Milanesi cites the books of the Badia to the effect that the tomb was ordered in 1469, and that a final payment for late additions to the monument was made in 1481.

of Carrara, which was the most beautiful work ever performed by this master. There are certain boys, for example, by whom the arms of the Count are borne, and whose attitudes have much spirit, with a childish grace, which is very pleasing. On the sarcophagus, is the statue of the dead Count,[17] and on the wall, above the bier, is the figure of Charity, with children, well grouped and very carefully finished. The same may be remarked of a Madonna, in a half-circle, with the Child in her arms, in which Mino has imitated the manner of Desiderio, to the utmost of his power : and if he had improved his mode of proceeding by reference to the life, there is no doubt that he would have attained great proficiency in art. This monument, with all its consequent expenses, cost 1600 livres ; it was finished in 1481 ; and the artist derived great credit from his work, which was, besides, the cause of his obtaining the commission for constructing another funereal monument, in a chapel in the Episcopal Church of Fiesole, near the principal chapel, and on the right hand, in ascending to the high altar. This was to the memory of the Bishop Lionardo Salutati, Suffragan of that see ; and Mino here represented[18] the Prelate himself in his episcopal robes : a portrait from the life,

[17] This monument, raised in commemoration of Count Ugo of Tuscany (see note 1, p. 164, *Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance*, by M. Eug. Müntz, showing that the inscription on Count Ugo's monument contains in the H. M. H. N. S.—*Hoc monumentum hæredes non sequitur*—a curious and wholly unnecessary imitation of the Roman lapidary style), has faults of detail, stiffness, and exaggeration, but in its general effect is so exquisite that it ranks among the very foremost of Tuscan tombs.

[18] Count Ugo's monument postdates that of Salutati, and therefore could not have been the occasion of its commission. The latter monument was ordered about the year 1462, in Salutati's lifetime. It is beautiful in architectonic ordering, and the bust of the bishop is astonishingly characterized, but certainly lacks subtlety of modelling, although highly finished as to polish. The praise which has been lavished on the figures of the altar-piece opposite it appears excessive, at least as to the heads, which although in some cases charming are in others lacking in any expression whatever. This altar-piece has the Madonna and Child, with an infant Saint John, and at her sides Saints Remigius and Leonard; it is not mentioned by Vasari. Mino here, as in many other cases, made a considerable use of gilding upon the marble.

which was as close a resemblance as could possibly be imagined. For the same Bishop, our artist executed a bust of the Saviour, in marble, the size of life, a very well-finished work, which was left among other bequests to the Hospital of the Innocenti,[19] and is now in the possession of the Very Reverend Don Vincenzo Borghini, Prior of that house, who esteems it among the most precious specimens of those arts; wherein he takes more pleasure than I could sufficiently express.

In the Capitular church of Prato, Mino constructed a pulpit entirely of marble; the ornaments are stories from the life of the Virgin, the whole admirably well done,[20] and the joinings are effected with so much care, that the work appears to be entirely of one piece.[21] Over the pulpit, at one side of the choir, and almost in the centre of the church, are certain ornaments, also executed under the care of the same master. He likewise took the portrait of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, with that of his wife, both from nature, and presenting an exact resemblance to the originals. These two busts stood for many years over two doors in the chamber of Piero, in the Medici palace, within lunettes; they were however afterwards placed, with the likenesses of many other illustrious persons of that house, in the guardaroba of the Lord Duke Cosimo.[22]

The figure of Our Lady in marble, now in the audience-chamber of the Guild of Manufacturers, is also by the hand of Mino,[23] who likewise sent a work in marble to Perugia for Messer Baglione Ribi. This was placed in the chapel of the

[19] Milanesi believes this to be a bust kept provisionally in the museum of the hospital of the Innocenti. Dr. Bode feels sure that the bust of Niccolo Strozzi, signed OPUS NINI (*sic*) 1454, in the Berlin Museum, is by Mino, and also attributes to him a bust of a young girl and a *tondo* of the Madonna and Child in the same museum. See note 3.

[20] In 1473.

[21] This pulpit was sculptured by Mino and by Antonio di Matteo Rossellino, who did the stories of the Assumption, St. Stephen Disputing, and his Martyrdom. To Mino belong the two stories from the life of the Baptist.

[22] Now in the Bargello.

[23] This work is lost.

Sacrament, in the church of San Piero, and presents a Tabernacle, with figures of San Giovanni on one side, and San Girolamo (St. Jerome) on the other, both very well executed in mezzo-rilievo.[24] The Tabernacle of the Sacrament, in the cathedral of Volterra, is also by this master, and two Angels standing one on each side of it are so well and carefully done, that this work has been deservedly extolled by all artists.[25] Finally, desiring one day to move certain stones, and not having the needful assistance at hand, Mino fatigued himself too violently, insomuch that an inflammatory disease ensued which caused his death. This took place in the year 1486,[26] when the artist was honourably interred by his relations and friends in the Canonicate of Fiesole.[27][28]

[24] Still in the church.

[25] Now in the Baptistery.

[26] He died July 11, 1484, and was buried in Sant' Ambrogio. In S. Maria in Campo a tombstone bears the Mino arms. See Milanesi.

[27] Among the works by Mino are the busts of Piero de Medici, *il Gottoso*, 1454; of Rinaldo della Luna, 1461; of Diotisalvi Neroni, 1464, and profile heads of Giangaleazzo Sforza and Federigo d'Urbino; of the two latter Milanesi says "attributed." There is a S. Giovannino bust in the Louvre, also two marble slabs in the Renaissance Museum, Nos. 26, 27. The bust of Isotta da Rimini, in the Campo Santo of Pisa, is otherwise attributed by Dr. Bode.

[28] Serious analysis of the works of the old masters is comparatively modern, and in many cases an uncritical admiration has been accorded even to the defects of great artists, for it is often the case that the weak points of a master are the first to catch the attention of the untrained, who are rather spectators than observers. The spectator, knowing that he is in the presence of a great artist, holds all the qualities of the latter to be great simply because they are his, and emphasizes most those characteristics which he notices first. Thus Mino has been set down as a great sculptor of the figure, notable at once for deep sentiment and wonderful finish. In reality he is one of the most remarkable artists of the Renaissance, but it is not as a sculptor of the figure but as a composer, an arranger, a master of architectonic combinations that we may count him among the foremost. Some of his busts are immensely strong in character and are thereby fine works of art, but he is not a master of subtle modelling, and his so-called high finish, which has been so greatly praised, is rather high polish of the marble, a very different thing from real finish of execution. He has created an individual type with widely opened and somewhat protuberant eyes, and opened mouth as well. The best of his angel heads are charming in sentiment, the poorest of them are inane in their lack of expression. His qualities of simplicity and sweetness have made him very famous, and are sure to be popular in any epoch; but to place him on a par as a

The portrait of Mino is among those in our book of drawings, but I do not know by whose hand; it was given to me, with certain designs in black-lead, by himself, and which are tolerably good.

sculptor of the figure with his contemporaries, Desiderio, the Rossellini, and Benedetto, is uncritical. His tomb of Count Ugo in the Badia ranks among the three or four finest in Tuscany—that is to say in Italy—but it is by its effect as a whole that the monument holds this high place.

Mino had a way of handling the stone which is admirably characterized by Vasari, in his description of the draperies in the Giugni monument, as "*un poco tritati dall' intaglio*," and which gives a poor look, as though he had hacked the marble without exactly knowing what he proposed to do with it. At other times his busts surprise by their admirable force of expression. It is as a composer of monuments, and in his architectonic arrangements, that Mino is eminent. This genius for disposition, together with a certain simple and penetrating charm, has enabled him to produce some of the most beautiful of Renaissance works.

JACOPO, GIOVANNI, AND GENTILE BELLINI, VENETIAN PAINTERS

[Born *circa* 1400; died *circa* 1464.] [Born 1428; died 1516.] [Born *circa* 1426; died 1507.]

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WHEN zealous efforts are supported by talent and rectitude, though the beginning may appear lowly and poor, yet do they proceed constantly upward by gradual steps, never ceasing nor taking rest until they have finally attained the summit of distinction, as may be clearly seen in the poor and humble commencement of the Bellini family, and in the elevation to which it attained by the devotion of its founders to the art of painting.

The Venetian artist, Jacopo Bellini,[1] was a disciple of Gentile da Fabriano, and a rival of that Domenico who taught the method of painting in oil to Andrea dal Castagno; but although he laboured very zealously to attain eminence in his art, yet he never acquired any great reputation in the same, until after the departure of the above-named Domenico from Venice.[2] But from that time for-

[1] Jacopo's name was Jacopo di Piero; he was known in Florence as Jacopo da Venezia.

[2] Jacopo Bellini, as pupil of Gentile da Fabriano, accompanied him to Florence and passed some time there, learning much, thinks Morelli, from Gentile and Pisanello. The Archives of Florence, Vol. CVI., *carta* viii., tell us that Jacopo, when with Gentile da Fabriano in Florence, came to fisticuffs with another lad, who had thrown stones into a court-yard where Gentile's freshly painted panels had been set out to dry. Jacopo, fearing private revenge, took service on the Florentine galleys. The boy's family had him summoned to appear before a judge, but as he failed to do so he was fined, and when he unsuspiciously returned to Florence a year later, he was seized for contempt and lodged in the *Stinche* prison. He compromised with his enemy and regained his liberty by public acts of penance, one of which consisted in marching bareheaded with a guard from the prison of the *Stinche* to the Baptistery of San Giovanni. See M. Müntz, in two articles in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for October and November, 1884, pp. 346–434; *Jacopo Bellini et la Renaissance dans l'Italie Septentrionale.* He describes the collection of designs by Jacopo recently acquired by the Louvre, and gives many reproductions of the drawings. He attributes to Jacopo as distinctive traits the enthusiastic study of antiquity, on one hand, and on the other of perspective, anatomy, and of physiognomy. He places him far above Squarcione as a teacher, and credits him with considerable influence upon Mantegna. Mr. Bernard Berenson (Venetian Painters) mentions, besides Jacopo's sketch-books of Paris and London, an Annunciation at Brescia (S. Alessandro); a Madonna at Lovere; a Christ in Limbo, at Padua; a Crucifixion in Verona, and three works in Venice: S. Giovanni Crisogono (in San Trovaso); a Crucifixion (in the Museo Correr), and a Madonna in the Academy. Sig. Molmenti, in his *Carpaccio son Temps et son Œuvre* (Venice, 1893), gives an abstract of the works of Jacopo Bellini. He states that in the Virgin and Child in the Academy, signed "*Opus Iacopi Bellini Veneti*," the inscription is falsified and the picture itself does not appear to be by any one of the Bellini. He also says that the catalogue of the gallery confounds this picture with one in the Tadini Palace at Lovere (see above), in the Province of Bergamo. The Museum at Verona possesses a Christ on the Cross, signed with the name of Jacopo. The works in Sant' Antonio at Padua, in the house of Pietro Bembo at Padua, and in the Confraternity of St. John the Evangelist at Venice, have all perished. Morelli, in his Italian Masters, says that the Annunciation in the church of S. Alessandro at Brescia (see above), attributed to Fra Angelico,

ward, finding himself alone, and without a competitor who could equal him in that city, his fame and credit constantly increased, and he attained to such eminence as to be reputed the first in his profession: and the renown thus acquired was not only maintained in his house, but was much enhanced by the circumstance that he had two sons, both decidedly inclined to the art, and each possessed of good ability and fine genius. One of these was called Giovanni, the other Gentile, a name which Jacopo gave him in memory of the tender affection born to himself by Gentile da Fabriano, his master, who had been as a kind father to his youth. When these two sons therefore had attained the proper age, Jacopo himself instructed them carefully in the principles of design, but no long time elapsed before both greatly surpassed their father; who, rejoicing much thereat, encouraged them constantly, telling them, that he desired to see them do as did the Tuscans, who were perpetually striving among themselves to carry off the palm of distinction by outstripping each other, and that so he would have Giovanni surpass himself, while Gentile should vanquish them both, and so on successively.

The first works by which Jacopo acquired fame were the portraits of Giorgio Cornaro and of Caterina, queen of Cyprus,[3] a picture which he sent to Verona,[4] and which represented the Passion of Christ, with many figures, among which he depicted the portrait of himself; and an historical

and the Madonna in the Lochis Carrara Gallery of Bergamo, wrongly ascribed to Gentile da Fabriano, both suggest the manner of Jacopo Bellini.

[3] This Catarina Cornaro by Gentile, not Jacopo, is in the Esterhazy Collection at Buda-Pesth. See Morelli, Italian Masters, Vol. I., p. 266, English edition. The same author thinks that the importance of Jacopo Bellini as an artist has only recently been proved, and that both Giovanni and Gentile owed much of their artistic training to their father. His sketch-book in the British Museum, and the one recently acquired by the Louvre, show that Jacopo was an enthusiastic student of antiquity and an observer of nature. For reproductions from the sketch-book see M. Müntz in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, October and November, 1884.

[4] In the Life of Liberale of Verona, Vasari mentions the painting of the chapel of San Niccolà at Verona, by Jacopo Bellini.

picture representing the Miracle of the Cross, which is said to be in the *Scuola*[5] of San Giovanni Evangelista; all which, and many others, were executed by Jacopo, with the assistance of his sons.[6] The last-named picture was painted on canvas, as it is almost always the custom to do in that city, where they but rarely paint on wood of the maple or poplar, as is usual in other places. This wood, which grows for the most part along the banks of rivers or other waters, is very soft, and is excellent for painting on, because it holds very firmly when joined properly with suitable glue. But in Venice they do not paint on panel, or, if they use it occasionally, they take no other wood than that of the fir, which is most abundant in that city, being brought thither, along the river Adige, in large quantities from Germany; to say nothing of that which also comes from Sclavonia. It is the custom, then, in Venice to paint very much on canvas, either because that material does not so readily split, is not liable to clefts, and does not suffer from the worm, or because pictures on canvas may be made of such size as is desired, and can also be conveniently sent whithersoever the owner pleases, with little cost and trouble. Be the cause what it may, the first works of Jacopo and Gentile were on cloth, as we have said; and afterwards Gentile, without any assistance, added seven or eight pictures[7] to that story of the Miracle of the Cross of which mention has been made above.

[5] By the word *Scuola* we are not to necessarily understand a place of education. A *Scuola* was rather the head-quarters of a confraternity, or society. Sig. Molmenti (*I Pittori Bellini*, *Nuova Antologia*, Vol. XVI., Third Series, July 16, 1888) gives the contracts between the school of San Marco and Jacopo, Giovanni, and Gentile for pictures, among others for a large one, probably the Preaching of S. Mark.

[6] The portraits and the Passion of Christ have disappeared. Three of the compositions painted by Gentile Bellini for the Brotherhood of St. John remain, and are now in the Academy at Venice. The subjects are: A Miracle Performed by the True Cross (executed before 1494); a Procession of the True Cross (1496), and the Recovery of the True Cross (1500).

[7] According to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in North Italy, I., 129, Gentile painted three; Carpaccio, one; Mansueti, two; Diana, one, and Lazzaro Sebastiani, one.

In these works Gentile delineated the miracle performed in respect of the true cross of Christ,[8] a piece of which the *Scuola*, or Brotherhood, above named, preserved as a relic, and which miracle took place as follows. The cross was thrown, I know not by what chance, from the Ponte della Paglia into the canal; when many persons, from the reverence which they bore to the piece of the true cross of Jesus Christ contained within it, threw themselves into the water to get it out. But it was the will of God that none should be found worthy to take it thence, save only the Principal or Guardian of the said Brotherhood. Gentile, therefore, representing this story, delineated in perspective several houses situated along the Grand Canal, showing the Ponte della Paglia, and the Piazza di San Marco, with a long procession of men and women who are walking behind the clergy. Many persons have cast themselves into the water, others are in the act of throwing themselves in, some are half-immersed, and others are in other positions, but all in very fine attitudes: finally, the artist depicted the Guardian above-named, who recovers the cross. The labour and pains bestowed on this work were very great, as is manifest when we consider the vast number of figures, the many portraits taken from the life, the diminution of the figures receding into the distance, and the likenesses more particularly of almost all the men who then belonged to that *Scuola*, or company. The master has likewise represented the Replacing of the Cross: and all these pictures, painted on canvas, as before related, brought Gentile very great reputation.[9]

[8] The picture of this miracle is in the Venetian Academy. It is most interesting, though in some respects rather grotesque; see the swimming, or, rather, miraculously floating, figure of Vendramin, who has recovered the relic. The kneeling figures at the sides of the canal have furnished much material for the students of fifteenth-century costume, and the background shows how little the smaller canals of Venice have changed in appearance since the days of Bellini.

[9] Also in the Academy at Venice. In these paintings of Gentile Bellini (as also in those of Carpaccio) we have almost for the first time pictures in which the architectural setting to a subject is so realistically and correctly drawn

In the course of time Jacopo withdrew himself entirely from his previous association with his children, and gave his attention, as did his two sons on their part, each separately to his own works. Of Jacopo I will make no further mention, because his paintings, when compared with those of his sons, were not extraordinary, and no long time after he had withdrawn himself from his sons, he died ; but I will not omit to say that, although the brothers separated, and each lived alone, yet they had so much affection for each other, and both held their father in so much reverence, that each, constantly extolling the other, attributed inferior merit only to himself, and thus modestly sought to emulate each other no less in gentleness and courtesy than in the excellences of art.

The first works of Giovanni Bellini were certain portraits [10] from the life, which gave great satisfaction, more especially that of the Doge Loredano ; but this is said by some to be the likeness of Giovanni Mozzenigo, brother of that Piero Mozzenigo who had been Doge long before Loredano.[11]

that it becomes a complete and satisfactory document. In the miniatures of manuscripts, proportion and scale were always ridiculously unreasonable, and much imagination as well as common-sense was required in making a reconstruction from such pictures. Even here there are undoubtedly errors of scale, but, on the whole, we see the Piazza of San Marco just as Gentile, a careful, conscientious draughtsman, saw it, while for the history of the ancient *façade* of the church the picture furnishes invaluable memoranda.

[10] Giovanni's early pictures and those of Andrea Mantegna have been sometimes confounded, as the latter painter had great influence on his brother-in-law Giovanni, and was, in turn, much influenced by Bellini. It is hard to over-estimate the importance of the relationship by marriage, which threw together the two greatest painters of North Italy in the fifteenth century, and the reaction upon each other of these two profoundly earnest natures. See in the National Gallery of London the same subject of Christ in the Garden treated by the two masters, and see still more especially some of the hooded Madonnas of either painter.

[11] This fine portrait is in the National Gallery, London. Loredano was the sixty-seventh Doge ; he held office from 1501 to 1521. A picture in the Museo Correr (*Fondaco dei Turchi*) at Venice is said to be that of Giovanni Mozzenigo, or rather Mocenigo (1478–85), by Bellini. The portrait of Loredano is not an early work of Giovanni, as Vasari would imply. See Dr. Richter's Italian Art in the National Gallery, pp. 78–80, for a description of Bellini's pictures there.

At a later period Giovanni Bellini painted a picture for the altar of Santa Caterina of Siena, in the church of San Giovanni; in this, which is of a rather large size, he represented Our Lady seated with the Child in her arms, she is accompanied by St. Domenick, St. Jerome, St. Catherine, St. Ursula, and two other virgin saints: three very beautiful boys are standing at the feet of Our Lady, singing from a book, and above the figures is depicted the termination of the vaulted ceiling of the building, which is extremely well done; the whole work was considered to be among the best that had then been executed in Venice.[12] In the church of Sant' Iobbe (Job), the same master painted a picture for the altar of that saint, of which the drawing is very good, and the colouring beautiful. The subject is Our Lady seated in a somewhat elevated position, with the Child in her arms. Undraped figures of Sant' Iobbe, and San Bastiano (Sebastian) are beside her, with San Domenico, San Francesco, San Giovanni, and Sant' Agostino, near them; beneath are three boys playing musical instruments with much grace of attitude.[13] This picture was highly praised, not only when it was first seen, but has in like manner been extolled ever since as an extremely beautiful work.

Moved by these most praiseworthy performances, certain

[12] Venice has been peculiarly unfortunate as to fires in churches and palaces. This famous picture was burned, August 16, 1867, with Titian's Peter Martyr.

[13] The beautiful altar-piece from Sant' Iobbe is in the Academy. It is one of the largest, and is, in some respects, the most important of the works which Bellini has left, but yet does not quite equal in interest the Madonnas of the Frari and of San Zaccaria, or the picture in San Giovanni Crisostomo. The great pictures of Giambellino in Venice are the altar-pieces of the Frari and San Zaccaria, the painting carried from Sant' Iobbe to the Academy, and the picture in S. Giovanni Crisostomo (representing Saints Jerome, Chrysostom, and Augustine), painted by the artist when over eighty years old, and called by Mr. Ruskin his finest work in Venice. Besides these there are in the Academy and the churches of Venice many half-length figures of Madonnas and saints, either single or grouped. These vary greatly in type and beauty, says M. Müntz, and are sometimes "lofty, ample, majestic;" sometimes "hard, archaic, Byzantine;" again, "sulky-looking and seeming half-frozen." The Supper of Emmaus in San Salvadore is no longer considered to be by Bellini.

gentlemen began to reason among themselves, and to declare that it would be well to profit by the presence of such excellent masters, using the occasion to decorate the Hall of the Grand Council with historical paintings, wherein should be depicted the glories and magnificence of their most admirable city, her greatness, her deeds in war, her most important undertakings, and other similar things worthy to be represented in picture, and to be had in remembrance by those who should come after, in order that to the pleasure and advantage derived from the reading of history, might be added the gratification of the eyes and equally of the intellect, from seeing delineated the images of so many illustrious nobles with the admirable works of so many great men, all most worthy of eternal renown and remembrance.

It was therefore commanded by those who then governed, that the commission for this work should be accorded to Giovanni and Gentile, whose fame increased from day to day, and it was further ordered that the undertaking should be entered on as soon as possible.[14] But we must here remark that Antonio Veneziano had long before commenced the painting of this Hall, as we have said in his life: he had even finished a large historical picture there, when he was compelled to depart from Venice by the envy of malicious persons, and could no longer continue that most honourable enterprise.

Now Gentile, either because he had more experience and a better manner on canvas than in fresco, or for whatever else may have been the cause, proceeded in such sort that he readily obtained permission to execute that work, not in fresco, but on canvas, and thus, having set hand thereto, in the first story, he delineated the Pope, who presents a waxen taper to the Doge, that the latter may carry it in the processions which are about to take place.[15] The whole ex-

[14] In 1474.

[15] After his return from Constantinople Gentile painted in the Hall of the Grand Council of the Palazzo Ducale the following subjects: The Delivery of the Consecrated Taper to the Doge, the Pope and Doge Sending an

terior of San Marco appears in this picture, the Pope is standing in full pontificals, with numerous prelates behind him. The Doge is likewise standing, accompanied by many senators. In another part of this story the master has depicted the emperor Frederick Barbarossa : first, where he receives the Venetian Ambassadors with a friendly aspect, and next, where he is angrily preparing for war ; fine views in perspective are here delineated, with an immense number of figures and numerous portraits, all executed in an excellent manner and with extraordinary grace. In the picture next following, is also the Pope, encouraging the Doge and Venetian nobles to arm thirty galleys at the common expense, wherewith they are to proceed to battle against the emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The Pope is seated on the pontifical seat, clothed in his rochet ; the Doge is beside him, with numerous senators around and at the foot of the papal throne. In this picture also, Gentile Bellini depicted the Piazza and Façade of St. Mark's, with the sea, but in a different manner from that of the preceding story, and with so vast a multitude of figures, that it is really a marvel. In another compartment the same Pope is again represented standing in full pontificals, and conferring his benediction on the Doge, who is armed, and, having a large train of soldiers, would seem to be departing for the field : in long procession behind the Doge is an immense number of nobles, and the palace of San Marco is seen in perspective. This work is one of the best executed by the hand of Gentile, although the picture wherein there is the representation of a sea-fight displays more invention ; for in the last there are numerous galleys engaged in battle, with

Embassy to the Emperor, the Emperor Receiving the Embassy, the Pope Giving a Sword to the Doge, the Pope Giving a Ring to the Doge, and a Naval Battle (the latter being a restoration of an older picture), the Pope Celebrating Mass in S. Marco, the Delivery of the Ducal Umbrella to the Doge, the Reception at the Gates of Rome, etc. These pictures, the labor of more than thirty years, perished in the fire of 1577. One of the assistants of Giovanni, in this work, engaged and paid by the state to "render speedy and diligent assistance," was Carpaccio.

an almost incredible number of men, and, in fine, because the artist has here proved that he was no less accurately acquainted with maritime warfare than with the details of painting. The crowd of galleys, involved in all the confusion of battle, the fighting men, the barks seen in perspective, and diminished with the most correct proportions, the well-ordered combat, the attack, the defence, the fury of the combatants, the wounded soldiers, and those who, in various manners, are dying, the cleaving of the waters by the galleys, the movement of the waves, the variety of weapons proper to the sea service—all this immense diversity of objects cannot but serve to show the vast ability of Gentile, his power of invention, his rectitude of judgment, and his knowledge of art, every part being perfect in itself, and the whole admirably composed.[16]

In another story the artist has represented the Pope receiving the Doge, who has returned with the victory so much desired; the pontiff is bestowing on him various marks of friendship, with the ring of gold with which he is to espouse the sea, as his successors have done, and still continue to do every year, in sign of the seal and perpetual dominion which they deservedly hold over that element. In this compartment is Otho, son of Frederick Barbarossa, portrayed from the life, he is kneeling before the Pope; and as behind the Doge there is a retinue of armed soldiers, so behind the Pontiff are there many cardinals and nobles. In this story the poops of the galleys only appear, and on that of the admiral is the figure of Victory painted to seem of gold, and seated, with a crown on the head and a sceptre in the hand.

The stories which were to decorate the other parts of the

[16] Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, proves that the Bellini only restored this story, the battle between Doge Ziani and Otho, son of Barbarossa, painted originally by Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello. Alvise Vivarini assisted the Bellini in their restoration. Professor Sidney Colvin, in Vol. XIII. of the *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, has an article upon the sketch in the British Museum for the fresco which once existed in the Doge's Palace and in which the Pope, "in full pontificals," was seen "conferring his benediction on the Doge."

hall were adjudged to Giovanni, the brother of Gentile; but as the order of the events there represented by him is connected with those executed in great part, but not completed, by Vivarino, it will be necessary that I should in the first place say somewhat of the latter. Those parts of the Hall, then, which were not adjudged to Gentile, were given partly to Giovanni and partly to Vivarino, to the end that all might be excited, by mutual emulation, to more zealous efforts. Wherefore Vivarino, having commenced the part which belonged to him, painted, immediately following the last story of Gentile, the above named Otho, offering himself to the Pope and the Venetians, as their messenger, to attempt the settlement of peace between them and his father Frederick Barbarossa; with his departure, after having obtained their permission, on the faith of his word. In this first part, to say nothing of other characteristics amply worthy of consideration, Vivarino painted in very fine perspective an open Temple, with flights of steps and numerous figures. Before the Pope, who is seated and surrounded by many senators, is Otho kneeling and plighting his faith by an oath. In the next compartment Vivarino represented Otho crowned in the presence of his father, who receives him joyfully; and in this picture are buildings in perspective very finely painted; Barbarossa is seated, and his son, who kneels before him, holds his hand: Otho is accompanied by many Venetian nobles, and among these figures are portraits from the life, so well depicted as to prove that this master copied nature very faithfully.[17] Poor

[17] The Bellini painted in the Ducal Palace in and about 1474. Their works remained for just a century, then perished, in what were, perhaps, the two most disastrous fires (May 11, 1574, and December 20, 1577) that the lover of pictures can chronicle, and which were a modern counterpart of the burning of the temple of the Ephesian Diana. All of the greatest names of Venetian art were represented upon the walls of the Ducal Palace, for its period of decoration corresponded with the highest point attained by the School of Venice, and not only the works of the Bellini, but of the older masters, as well as of Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and their contemporaries, were all destroyed together. The moment could scarcely have been a more unfortunate one; had the fire occurred twenty-five years earlier, many famous masters would have

Vivarino would have completed the remainder of his portion greatly to his own credit, but being of a weakly constitution, and exhausted by his labours, it pleased God that he should die early, and he could proceed no further;[18] nay, he could not entirely finish even what he had commenced, and it became necessary that Giovanni Bellini should retouch the work in certain parts.

Giovanni had himself meanwhile begun four stories, which followed those above described in regular succession. In the first he depicted the same Pope[19] in the church of San Marco, which he also delineated exactly as it stood. The pontiff presents his foot to Frederigo Barbarossa to kiss, but this first picture of Giovanni, whatever may have been the cause, was rendered much more animated, and beyond comparison better in every way, by the most excellent Titian. To follow Giovanni in his stories, however—in the next he portrayed the Pope saying mass in San Marco, and afterwards, in the presence of the Emperor and the Doge, granting plenary and perpetual indulgence to all who at certain periods shall visit the church of San Marco, the Ascension of our Lord being particularly specified. The master here depicted the interior of the church, with the Pope in his pontifical habit on the steps descending from the Choir, surrounded by numerous cardinals and nobles; the concourse of these persons rendering this a rich and beautiful picture. In the compartment beneath that above described, the Pope is seen in his rochet presenting an umbrella or canopy to the Doge, after having given one to the Emperor and retained two for himself. In the last picture painted by Giovanni, Pope Alexander, the Emperor, and the Doge, are seen to arrive in Rome, outside the gate of which city the Pontiff is

stood at hand to create new works, but in 1577 the last of the great Venetians were nearing the end of their lives and the work was, save in a few cases, given perforce to lesser men.

[18] Antonio Vivarini, Joannes Alemannus, Bartolommeo and Alvise Vivarini, and Andrea da Murano were the leading artists of the school of Murano, famous during the fifteenth century.

[19] Alexander VI.

presented by the clergy and people of Rome with eight standards of various colours, and eight silver trumpets, which he gives to the Doge, that he and his successors may bear them as their standard, or ensign of war. Giovanni here depicted the city of Rome in somewhat distant perspective, with a large number of horses and a vast body of soldiers: there are besides innumerable banners, standards, and other tokens of rejoicing, on the castle St. Angelo and elsewhere. These works, which are really beautiful, gave so much satisfaction, that Giovanni had just received the commission to paint all the remaining portion of that hall when he died, having already attained to a good old age.

We have hitherto spoken of the works executed in the Hall of the Council only, that we may not interrupt the description of the stories depicted there, but we will now turn back a little to relate that many other paintings were executed by the same masters. Among these is a picture which is now on the high altar of the church of San Domenico[20] in Pesaro; and in the church of San Zaccheria in Venice, in the chapel of San Girolamo, namely, is a picture of the Virgin, with numerous Saints, painted with great care: in this there is a building very judiciously executed;[21] and in the

[20] In S. Francesco instead of San Domenico. It is still in place, but is much injured by the splitting of the panel and by abrasion. There are five stories in the *predella*.

[21] Symonds says of this picture (painted in 1505), a Madonna enthroned, attended by Saints Peter, Jerome, Catherine, and Lucy: "No brushwork is perceptible. Surface and substance have been elaborated into one harmonious richness that defies analysis." See The Fine Arts. It is indeed a magnificent picture, one of the finest in Italy. The concentration of the effect about the Madonna, and the delicate contrast in color of her head-cloth with the throne and other accessories, are particularly interesting. Here and there in the figures of saints, at the bottom of the picture, the draperies have a certain papery look, which comes from a lack of modelling. It is probable, however, that this arises from a lighting which the artist never intended his canvas to receive, and that the modelling was sufficient for the light which originally fell upon his work. The picture was for a long time in the sacristy, but has been removed to an altar in the body of the church where, what with the darkness and the paper roses piled before it, this glorious work could, in 1892, scarcely be seen at all. In the sacristy it probably received more light than the painter meant it to have; in the church, even if its present station be

same city, in the Sacristy of the Frati Minori,[22] called the "Ca grande," there is another by the same master, very well drawn and in a very good manner: a similar work is to be seen in San Michele di Murano, a monastery of Camaldoline monks.[23] And in San Francesco della Vigna, which belongs to the Barefooted Friars, (Frati del Zoccolo) there was a picture of the Dead Christ in the old church, which was so beautiful, that having been highly extolled before Louis XI., king of France, he requested the gift of it with so much earnestness, that those monks were compelled to gratify him therewith, however reluctant they were to do so. Another was put into its place[24] with the name of the same Giovanni, but not by any means so beautiful or so well done as the first, and many believed that this last named was for the most part executed by Girolamo Mocetto, a pupil of Giovanni. There is a picture by this same master in the possession of the Brotherhood of San Girolamo; the figures are

the original one, there is too little light for the picture. There have been so many and such radical changes in the interior distribution of Renaissance churches, so many windows blocked up or pierced through in later centuries, that there is rarely any certainty as to what lighting the author of a mural painting or altar picture had originally to deal with in his calculation of effect.

[22] This work was painted in 1488 and is still in the sacristy of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. We may quote concerning it what Symonds has said of the San Zaccaria Madonna: "Between this picture, so strong in its smoothness, and any masterpiece of Velasquez, so rugged in its strength, what a wide abyss of inadequate half-achievement, of smooth feebleness and feeble ruggedness exists." See the Renaissance in Italy, The Fine Arts. It is a most beautiful picture, and so perfectly well executed that the method of its painting is never for a moment noticed; the effect is arrived at without perceptible effort. Its charm is greatly enhanced by the fact that Bellini, in making use of all his science of the new period, has retained the decorative arrangement of the old, the pilasters and gilded domes and scroll-work of the Murano school; in addition to this, inspired by Mantegna, he has placed upon the steps of the throne two of the most charming child-angels, playing upon musical instruments, that are to be found in the range of Renaissance Art. It is difficult to say enough of this picture, and of the Madonna of San Zaccaria. Other performances of the Renaissance are more brilliant, but none are more entirely satisfactory.

[23] In the church of SS. Pietro e Paolo, at Murano.

[24] In 1507.

small, but the work is very highly esteemed. And in the house of Messer Giorgio Cornaro is a picture equally beautiful, representing the Saviour with Cleophas and Luke.[25]

In the above-mentioned hall Giovanni painted another picture, but not at the same time. This contains a story showing the Venetians inviting a Pope, I know not which, to leave the monastery of Santa Maria della Carità, where he

[25] Morelli (Italian Painters) notes that during the last thirty years of his life Giovanni Bellini was so busy in painting for the state of Venice, or for its churches, that the author is able to enumerate during that time as pictures executed for other parts of Italy only the Pesaro altar-piece; the *Pietà* of Rimini; the Bacchanal for the Duke of Ferrara; the Santa Corona altar-piece at Vicenza; and the Alzano Madonna near Bergamo. The critic admits as genuine works of Giovanni, one picture in the Uffizi, the Tree of Life, (631); a second picture, the *Pietà* (a monochrome preparation for painting in color), having been too nearly destroyed by restorers to have any value; one picture in Turin (779); three works in the Brera; a *Pietà* (284) dating from 1464-1467; two Madonnas (261, 297); an early work, a Madonna, in the collection of Dr. Frizzoni, at Milan; one in the Morelli collection, since left to the city of Bergamo; a Madonna (early) in the Lochis collection there; and one of about 1512, in the cathedral; at Verona a Madonna and child of about 1477; at Vicenza the Santa Corona Madonna. In Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, and Treviso, Morelli finds not one genuine picture by Giovanni, though there is one disfigured example in the gallery at Rovigo. In Venice, beside the famous altar-pieces of the Frari, S. Zaccaria, S. Crisostomo, S. Francesco della Vigna, and that of Murano, Morelli admits the Madonna in the Orto; several in the Academy (Nos. 2, 17, 24, 33, 34); the large altar-piece and the four allegorical panels, all in the same gallery. The Museo Correr has a *Pietà*, a small Crucifixion, and a Transfiguration. In Rome there is one picture, a Madonna (greatly retouched), in the Torlonia collection. The Transfiguration in Naples is called a "splendid early work." Mr. Bernard Berenson, in his Venetian Painters, catalogues the Bellini of the National Gallery as the Loredano portrait; a Madonna; the Agony in the Garden; the Blood of the Redeemer; in private collections, a Madonna (Lady Eastlake); a Dead Christ (Mond collection); and a Madonna (Dr. Richter). He mentions the *Pietà* and the Dead Christ of Berlin, and questions a Crucifixion at Pesaro. Morelli notes that Giovanni Bellini's drawings are rare, and mentions only a *Pietà* in the Venice Academy (attributed to Mantegna), and a standing figure of an apostle in same collection; a pen-and-ink sketch for the Entombment (in Tosi collection, Brescia); a *Pietà* (in the La Salle collection in the Louvre), and four standing figures of saints (Chatsworth, attributed to Perino del Vaga). Mr. Berenson includes in his Venetian Painters a very important and interesting catalogue of the works, both in Italy and throughout Europe, of the masters of Venice, with specification as to whether the paintings belong to the early, middle, or late periods of the artist's career.

had concealed himself, after having taken refuge in Venice, and there secretly served as cook to the monks, an office which he had held for a considerable time. In this story there are many figures portrayed from the life, with others, all of which are very beautiful.[26]

No long time after, several portraits by this master were taken into Turkey by an ambassador, and presented to the Grand Turk. These works awakened so much astonishment and admiration in that monarch, that although among this people pictures are prohibited by the Mahometan law, the emperor accepted them with great good will, extolling beyond measure both the art and the artist; and, what is more, requiring that the master of the work should be sent to him.[27]

The Senate thereupon, considering that Giovanni had reached an age when he could but ill support fatigue,[28] and not desiring to deprive their city of such a man, he having his hands then fully occupied, moreover, with the hall of the Grand Council, resolved to send thither his brother Gentile in his stead, believing, that he would do as well for the Turk as Giovanni.[29] Having caused Gentile, therefore, to make himself ready, they conducted him in their own galleys with all safety, to Constantinople, where, being presented to the Grand Turk by the lieutenant of the Signoria, he was received by him very willingly,[30] and,

[26] This Pope, who was not known by name to Vasari, was Alexander III. That he served the monks in the capacity of cook is probably a fable.

[27] Sanuto records this occurrence under the date 1479.

[28] In Vasari's time the Venetians had evidently little detailed recollection of the Bellini, for Giovanni was really the younger brother, and in 1479, when Gentile went to Constantinople, was not much over fifty.

[29] Sanuto records this fact under the date 1479, and in the following words: "On the 1st day of August there comes a Jewish orator with letters from the Grand Turk. He would have the Signoria send him a good painter who knew how to make portraits, and invites the Doge to the marriage of his son." They replied, "thanking him, and have sent Zentil Bellini, an excellent painter, who went with the galleys of Romania."—Morelli, *Notizia, d'opere di disegno*, p. 99.

[30] See L. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et le Sultan Mohammed II.*, Paris, 1888. This book is based on the *Historia Turchesca di Giovanni Maria An-*

being something new, was much caressed, more especially when he had presented Sultan Mahomet with a most charming picture, which that monarch admired exceedingly, scarcely finding it possible to conceive that a mere mortal should have in himself so much of the divinity as to be capable of reproducing natural objects so faithfully. Gentile had been no long time in Constantinople before he portrayed the Emperor Mahomet from the life, and so exactly, that it was considered a miracle. Then the Sultan, after having seen many proofs of his ability in that art, desired to know if the painter had courage to take his own likeness? to which Gentile having replied that he had, many days had not elapsed before he had portrayed his own features, with the help of a mirror, so faithfully that the picture seemed to be alive.[31] This he brought to the Sultan, who was so amazed thereat that he could imagine no other but that the painter had some divine spirit in his service; and if it had not been that the exercise of this art is forbidden to the Turks by their law, as we have said, that emperor would never have suffered Gentile to leave him. But, whether the Sultan feared that murmurs might arise, or was moved by some other cause, he one day commanded the attendance of the painter, and having caused him first to be thanked for the courtesy he had displayed, and highly extolled him as a man of wonderful ability, he finally bade him demand whatever favour he might desire as a parting token, which should be presented to him without fail.[32] Gentile, who

giolello da Vicenza, one of the suite of Mustafa, eldest son of the Sultan. Apparently Mohammed collected both statues and pictures, which Bayazeid (Bajazet), his successor, sold.

[31] There was a portrait bust of Mohammed II. in the collection of the late Sir Austen Henry Layard. It is dated November 25, 1480. Sir Henry says: "It appears at one time to have been in the collection of portraits of remarkable men made by the celebrated Italian historian, Paolo Giovio." It is said that this portrait will probably go to the National Gallery. There is also a pen-and-ink drawing of Mohammed II. and his Sultana in the British Museum, and in the Louvre there is a picture of a Venetian ambassador at the Turkish court; the authorship of the latter is not certain.

[32] He was sent home because Mohammed had decided to carry war into

was a modest and upright man, demanded no other thing than a letter of approval, by which the Sultan should recommend him to the most Serene Senate and most Illustrious Signoria of Venice, his native city. This was written as cordially as was possible, after which he was dismissed with the most honourable presents and with the dignity of knighthood. In addition to many privileges then conferred on Gentile by this monarch, and among the many gifts bestowed on him, was a chain of gold, made after the Turkish fashion, and equal in weight to 250 scudi, which was placed around his neck ; this ornament is still in possession of his heirs at Venice.[33]

Departing from Constantinople, Gentile returned, after a most fortunate voyage, to Venice, where he was received by Giovanni, his brother, and by almost the whole city, with the utmost gladness, every one rejoicing at the honours paid to his talents by Sultan Mahomet. Proceeding on his arrival to present his duty to the Doge and the Signoria, he was very well received and commended, for that he had satisfied the Turkish emperor according to their desire. Furthermore, to the end that the great account in which they held the letters wherewith that prince had recommended him might be made manifest, they commanded a provision of 200 scudi a year to be made for him, which sum was paid him for the remainder of his life.

Gentile performed but few works after his return from Constantinople,[34] and at length, having nearly attained

Rhodes. See Thuasne, *op. cit.* A medal was struck in Gentile's honor when he returned from Constantinople. One of these medals is on the frame of the portrait of Mehemet II., referred to in note 31.

[33] Ridolfi, in his *Vite dei Pittori Veneti*, states that one of the pictures presented to Mohammed II. was the Head of John the Baptist on a Charger. The Sultan admired it, but remarked that "the neck projected too much from the head." As Gentile seemed sceptical he called a slave and had him decapitated by one of his attendants to prove the justness of his criticisms. Gentile was extremely anxious to return to Italy after this practical demonstration. The truth of this story is questionable.

[34] On the contrary, most of the existing work of Gentile postdates his return from Constantinople. Gentile often introduced Turkish and other orien-

to the age of 80, he passed to another life in the year 1501;[35] and from his brother Giovanni he received honourable interment in the Church of San Giovanni e Paolo.

Thus deprived of his brother Gentile, whom he had most tenderly loved, Giovanni, although very old,[36] still con-

tal costumes in his later pictures, showing that he must have made careful studies in the East. Many of these studies still exist at Windsor Castle and elsewhere. The important picture of Saint Mark Preaching at Alexandria, left unfinished by Gentile in 1507, and completed by his brother, is not mentioned by Vasari in the Life of Giovanni Bellini. It is now in the Brera at Milan. Gentile Bellini, in his will, left the sketch-book of his father, Jacopo Bellini, to Giovanni, provided he finished this picture. According to Mr. Berenson's list (Venetian Painters), London has four works of Gentile: National Gallery, S. Peter, Martyr, and a Portrait; South Kensington Museum, a head of S. Dominick; collection of Lady Eastlake, a Madonna Enthroned. Buda-Pesth has a portrait of Catarina Cornaro; Rome, a portrait of a Doge (Vatican); Venice a portrait of Lorenzo Giustiniani (Academy), and Paris has two heads (upon one canvas, Louvre) attributed to Gentile.

[35] He died in 1507. Gentile Bellini is the sober, dignified, and careful painter of processions, pageants, and masses of people, treated in a minute and rather dry manner, but warm and harmonious in color. He is an excellent draughtsman, and some of his studies in black and red chalk, especially of those made in Constantinople, are exceeding modern in their treatment. His influence was a powerful one in the development of Venetian art, but he never rose to the height of such pictures as Giovanni's Madonnas of San Zaccaria and the Frari, or of his altar-piece from Sant' Iobbe. He looked at the outsides of things, and substituted for the thoughtfully arranged monumental groups of saints of the Florentines, and of his brother Giovanni, the accidental and changing groups of out-door life in Venice, seeing the dramas of universal history as enacted by Venetians in Venice, and making concessions only in the case of the Turks, whom he saw and reported faithfully. He is an eminent master, dignified and truthful, but as M. Müntz has said, Gentile Bellini's was "documentary painting rather than great art."

[36] The celebrated letter of Albert Dürer [1506] gives us an interesting glimpse of the art-life of the time: "I have many good friends among the Italians who warn me not to eat and drink with their painters. Many also of them are my enemies; they copy my things for the churches, picking them up wherever they can. Yet they abuse my style, saying that it is not antique art, and therefore it is not good. But Giambellini has praised me much before many gentlemen; he wishes to have something of mine; he came to me and begged me to do something for him, and is quite willing to pay for it. And everyone gives him such a good character that I feel an affection for him. He is very old, and is yet the best in painting (*der best im gemell*)." M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, 177–180, shows that at this time Flanders gave way to Nuremburg and Colmar in the attraction which northern painting exercised over the

tinued to work a little, the better to pass his time, and having taken to execute portraits from the life, he introduced the custom into Venice, that whoever had attained to a certain degree of eminence should cause his likeness to be portrayed, either by himself or by some other master. Wherefore, in all Venetian houses, there are numerous portraits, and in many of those belonging to nobles, may be seen the fathers and grandfathers of the possessors, up to the fourth generation ; nay, in some of the most noble houses they go still farther back, a custom which is certainly most praiseworthy, and was in use even among the ancients. For who does not feel infinite contentment, to say nothing of the beauty and ornament resulting from them, at sight of the effigies of his ancestors, more particularly if they have been distinguished for their deeds in war or by their works in peace, or have rendered themselves illustrious by learning or other signal qualities and remarkable virtues, or by the part they have taken in the government of the state ? And to what other purpose, as has been remarked in another place, did the ancients place the statues of their great men, with honourable inscriptions, in the public

Venetians and Florentines. Thus Ercole de' Roberti, Michelangelo, Raphael, Fra Bartolommeo, copied or borrowed from works by Martin Schöngauer of Colmar; while Del Sarto, Raphael, Pontormo, Palma Vecchio, Titian (in his landscape backgrounds), gave equal attention to the works of Dürer. Carpaccio took the latter's Massacre of the Ten Thousand as the prototype of his own treatment of the same subject, and Giovanni Bellini, in his Bacchanal (now at Alnwick), painted for the Duke of Ferrara, imitated a picture done by Dürer in Venice. M. Müntz further notices the fact that while the engravings of Mantegna and others inspired in Germany works of a monumental size, Dürer's things were repeated by the Italians only in a size equal to, or smaller than, the originals. Camerarius gives a curious and hardly credible anecdote of Bellini and Dürer. The aged Venetian artist was particularly struck with Dürer's painting of hair, and asked him for the brush with which he did such fine strokes. Dürer did not understand, and offered him the choice of all his brushes. Bellini then explained that he only wanted the particular brush used in painting hair, as a mark of friendship. Dürer took up one of the brushes and executed a marvellously fine tress of woman's hair, thus showing that it was not the brush but the artist which did the work. Dürer was greatly pleased with Venice, and made long visits there both in 1493 and 1505–1507. He says, "I became a gentleman in Venice."

places, if not to the end that they might awaken the love of glory and excellence in those who were to come after?

Among the portraits executed by Giovanni Bellini was that of a lady beloved by Messer Pietro Bembo,[37] before the latter went to Rome to Pope Leo X.; and whom he portrayed with so much truth and animation, that as Simon of Siena was celebrated by the first Petrarch the Florentine, so was Giovanni by this second Petrarch the Venetian, as may be seen in the sonnet,

"*O imagine mia celeste e pura,*"

Wherein he says, in the commencement of the second quatrain,

"*Credo che 'l mio Bellin con la figura;*"

with that which follows. And what greater reward could our artists desire for their labours than that of seeing themselves celebrated by the pens of illustrious poets, as the most excellent Titian, also, has been by the learned Messer Giovanni della Casa, in that sonnet which begins—

"*Ben veggo io Tizïano, in forme nuove;*"

And in that other:—

"*Son queste, Amor, le vaghe treccie bionde.*"

And was not this same Bellino enumerated among the best painters of his age by the renowned Ariosto, in the commencement of the thirty-third canto of the Orlando Furioso?[38] But to return to the works of Giovanni, to his principal works, that is to say, for it would detain us too long were I to make mention of the pictures and portraits which are in the houses of gentlemen in Venice, and other parts of the Venetian dominions. In Rimini he painted, for the Signor Sigismondo Malatesti, a large picture repre-

[37] This picture is lost.

[38] "*E quei che furo ai nostri di, o son ora*
Leonardo, Andrea Mantegna e Gian Bellino."

senting the Dead Christ supported by two children, which is now in the church of San Francesco in that city;[39] he also painted among other portraits, that of Bartolommeo da Liviano, Captain-general of the Venetians.[40]

Giovanni Bellini had many disciples, seeing that he instructed them all with great kindness.

Giovanni Bellini died of old age when he had completed his ninetieth year,[41] leaving an undying memorial of his name in the works which he had executed in Venice and other parts, he was honourably buried in the same church and in the same tomb wherein he had deposited his brother Gentile;[42] [43] nor were there wanting in Venice those who, by

[39] Mr. Berenson (Venetian Painters) catalogues the Dead Christ in Rimini as an early work.

[40] Bartolommeo d'Alviano; the portrait is lost.

[41] Probably in his eighty-eighth year, in 1516.

[42] The portraits of Giovanni and Gentile are to be found in The Sermon of St. Mark, at the Brera. Gentile is also said to be represented in one of the kneeling figures to the right of the recovery of the relic in the series of paintings executed for the *Scuola* of San Giovanni Evangelista, and we possess an undoubted portrait in the medal struck to commemorate the painter's return from Constantinople, which does not resemble the head of the kneeling figure mentioned above. The portrait in the Capitol Gallery at Rome seems neither of, nor by Giovanni Bellini. His portrait in the Duc d'Aumale's collection is by a pupil (*Victor Discipulus*). Morelli affirms that the portrait of Giovanni in the Uffizi, and said to be by himself, is really by Rondinelli.

[43] Giovanni Bellini means, to the visitor to Italy, the painter of solemn enthroned Madonnas or of half-length Virgins between guardian saints, enveloped in an atmosphere of strong but golden color. He developed so slowly that his masterpieces were the work of his latest years, and his Virgins of San Zaccaria and of the Frari were painted when he was already an old man. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 780, lays special emphasis on the patience and laboriousness of Giovanni, saying that he began with an incompleteness of vision which amounted to obtuseness, and by force of perseverance attained an ideal which his pupils, with Titian among them, were unable to equal. It is difficult to wholly subscribe to this; the sense of beauty in Giovanni may have been clouded, but it existed from the beginning of his career; something there was in him which he did not create, nor even develop wholly by perseverance. He was not naturally a draughtsman, and his modelling has sometimes a flat, uncertain and papery quality about it that gives a boneless look to his figures; but this modelling was intended for the half-light of churches where its feebleness was largely counteracted.

Like every Venetian painter he had "the golden touch," but no one else had

sonnets and epigrams, sought to do him honour after his death, as he had done honour to himself and his country during his life.

it quite so fully as he. Giorgione's coloring may be more thrilling, Titian's deeper chorded and more sonorous, if one may carry out the musical comparison; but no painter's figures, not even the people of Carpaccio or of Cima, swim in such an atmosphere of pure gold as surrounds the Madonnas of San Zaccaria and the Frari. Dignity Giovanni's Madonnas have always, a dignity which becomes majesty with these two glorious enthroned Virgins; but his divine mothers are proud rather than tender; true to the Byzantine tradition they hold up the infant Christ to the people instead of clasping him to themselves; they are Christophers, Christ-bearers, as has been well said, as they sit with their calm faces and their hooded mantles against the background of liquid gold.

Bellini brought the science of the fifteenth century to the old Greek painters' ideal, and these Virgins are the descendants of the stately and imperious Madonnas of the Byzantine mosaics, as well as of the sad and mysterious Madonnas of Cimabue. They are so calm as to be often impassive, their features are sometimes pinched and mean, and much that has been written of their tenderness and beauty is exaggerated and uncritical. Two or three of them are lovely, but generally it is not their facial beauty that charms but their *ensemble*, their grave and simple dignity, their quiet, golden breadth of treatment, the absence of all straining either for expression or technical handling. It is, above all, in this last quality of achievement without visible effort, this unruffled quiet perfection, that Giovanni Bellini is a master of masters. He is essentially contemplative, loving best to paint the enthroned Madonna, and yet he becomes intensely pathetic, and even dramatic, in his *Pietàs*, which are among the greatest that the Renaissance has left us. He was strongly affected by the art of Mantegna, upon which he himself reacted in turn, until these two painters filled the whole north of Italy with their names and influences, and prepared the way for Giorgione and Titian and Correggio.

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAJO, FLORENTINE PAINTER[1]

[Born 1449; died 1494.]

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DOMENICO, son of Tommaso del Ghirlandajo, who, by the pre-eminence of his talents and the importance and number of his works, is entitled to be placed among the first and most excellent masters of his time, was formed by nature to be a painter, and followed the bent of his disposition, notwithstanding the determination to the contrary of those who had him in charge. Impediments thus offered to the inclinations of youth, frequently nip the most promising fruits of genius in the bud, by compelling the attention to an ill-suited employment, and forcibly

[1] His name was Domenico di Tommaso di Currado Bigordi, and he was called "*Il Ghirlandajo*," in Florentine dialect, *Grillandajo*, the garland-maker. His father, Tommaso del Ghirlandajo, may have been son of a garland-maker, or have at one time exercised the art of a goldsmith, though he is known to have become eventually a broker; he describes himself as such, and mentions that his sons, David and Domenico, are apprenticed to a goldsmith. See Layard's Kugler, I., p. 169, for a quotation from a document discovered by Milanesi.

turning it from the vocation to which there is a natural impulse; but Domenico, obeying the instinct of his nature, as we have said, obtained for himself the highest honours, secured great advantage to art, as well as to his kindred, and his contemporaries; and became the joy and delight of his age. Our artist was designed by his father to learn his own calling, that of a goldsmith,[2] in which Tommaso was a more than respectable master; the greater part of the votive vessels in silver, formerly preserved in the church of the Annunciation at Florence, being from his hand, as were the silver lamps of the chapel, which were destroyed during the siege of the city in 1529; Tommaso del Ghirlandajo was the first who invented and made those ornaments worn on the head by the young girls of Florence, and called garlands (ghirlande),[3] whence Tommaso acquired the name of Ghirlandajo. Yet not for being the first inventor only, but also on account of the vast number and extraordinary beauty of those made by him, insomuch that none could please, as it should seem, but such as came from his workrooms.

Being thus placed to learn the art of goldsmith therefore, Domenico, whom this occupation did not satisfy, employed himself perpetually in drawing; he was endowed by nature with remarkable intelligence, and possessing admirable taste, with a most correct judgment in all things related to painting; although occupied as a goldsmith in his earliest youth, he yet obtained extraordinary facility in design by continual practice, and was so quick as well as clever, that he is said to have drawn the likenesses of all who passed by his workshop, producing the most accurate resemblance. Of this ability there is a sufficient proof in the numerous portraits to be found in his works, and which are truly animated likenesses.[4]

[2] Many famous artists were at first goldsmiths, as Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, Verrocchio, Luca della Robbia, Orgagna, Andrea del Sarto, Cellini, Antonio del Pollajuolo and Botticelli.

[3] These garlands were worn long before Ghirlandajo's time.

[4] Ghirlandajo's first master was either Alesso Baldovinetti or Cosimo Rosselli.

The first pictures painted by Domenico[5] were for the chapel of the Vespucci,[6] in the church of Ognissanti, where there is a Dead Christ with numerous Saints. Over an arch in the same chapel there is a *Misericordia,* wherein Domenico has portrayed the likeness of Amerigo Vespucci, who sailed to the Indies ; and in the refectory of the convent (of Ognissanti) he painted a fresco of the Last Supper. In Santa Croce, at the entrance of the church on the right hand, Domenico painted the story of San Paolino, whereby, having acquired great reputation, and attained to high credit, he was commissioned by Francesco Sassetti to paint a chapel in Santa Trinita,[7] with stories from the life of San Francesco ; a work of great merit, and completed by Domenico with infinite grace, tenderness, and love. In the first compartment of this picture is the representation of a miracle performed by St. Francis, and here the master has

[5] The San Gimignano frescoes from the story of Santa Fina probably antedate the year 1475 (see Natale Baldoria, in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1890, p. 56), but the earliest existing document concerning any of his works (quoted by Milanesi) proves him to have painted in the Vatican library in 1475, and is dated November 28th of that year. His only remaining pictures done in Rome are the Calling of Peter, in the Sistine Chapel, and a fragment recently discovered by Herr Schmarsow in the Vatican, representing the Doctors of the Church (see M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 643). A fresco in the church of S. Andrea, near Florence, is called one of his earliest works. It represents a Virgin and Child with two attendant saints, while above is a Baptism of Christ.

[6] The Vespucci Chapel was whitewashed in 1616. The story of San Paolino is destroyed. The *Cenacolo* is still to be seen, and dates, as do the other frescoes, from 1480. The head of Christ is much repainted. In this *Cenacolo*, and in that of San Marco, Ghirlandajo has left important examples of the fifteenth-century conception of the subject of the Last Supper, but they are not by any means his best works, and M. Müntz has remarked of the San Marco fresco that in studying it one realizes the gigantic progress made in the treatment of the same subject by Leonardo da Vinci in Milan.

[7] These frescoes, finished in 1485, rank among Domenico's most important works, and in such monumental cycles the painter is at his best ; here, as in S. M. Novella, we have contemporaneous portraiture not only of persons but of places. Of late, and during several years, it has been difficult to see these frescoes well, as the chapel has been obstructed more or less by the scaffoldings used in a careful and elaborate restoration of the interior of the church, a restoration which has given it back some of its ancient character, especially as to polychromatic decoration. See Bibliography.

given an exact counterpart of the bridge of the Santa Trinita with the palace of the Spini; in this work St. Francis appears hovering in the air, and restores to life the child who had been dead; among the women standing around are seen the different emotions of grief for his death, as they are bearing him to the burial, and of joy and amazement as they behold him resuscitated. Domenico has likewise shown the monks issuing from the church with the Becchini, men whose office it is to bury the dead, following the cross and proceeding to the interment; all exhibiting perfect truth to nature, as do other figures, who are expressing the amazement they feel, or the happiness they experience, from the event they have just witnessed. In this picture are the portraits of Maso degli Albizzi, Messer Agnolo Acciaiuoli, and Messer Palla Strozzi, all eminent citizens frequently cited in the history of Florence.

A second picture represents St. Francis, when, in the presence of the vicar, he refuses to accept the inheritance devolving on him from his father, Pietro Bernardone, and assumes the habit of penitence, which he binds around him with the cord of discipline; in another compartment the same saint is depicted as proceeding to Rome, where he obtains from Pope Honorius the confirmation of his rule, and presents to that Pontiff, roses blooming in the middle of January. In this story the master represents the Hall of the Consistory with the Cardinals seated around it, a flight of steps leads up into the hall; and, leaning on the balustrade, are the half-length figures of various persons portrayed from the life. Among the portraits in this work is that of the illustrious Lorenzo de' Medici the elder. The master likewise depicts St. Francis receiving the Stigmata; and in the last of the series here described, he represents the Saint dead, with his monks mourning around him. One among them kisses the hands of the departed, and the expression in his case could not possibly be rendered more perfect by the art of the painter. There is also a bishop, in his episcopal vestments and with spectacles on his nose; he is

chanting the prayers for the dead; and the fact that we do not hear him, alone demonstrates to us that he is not alive, but merely painted. On each side of the altar-piece are two compartments, in one of which Domenico painted the likeness of Francesco Sassetti on his knees; and in the other that of Madonna Nera his wife, with their children (but these last are in the story above, when the child is restored to life), and some other beautiful maidens of the same family, whose names I have not been able to discover, all wearing the dress and ornaments of that time, a circumstance which imparts no small pleasure to the beholder. On the vaulted ceiling of the chapel are four Sybils, and on the external wall[8] is the story of the Tiburtine Sybil, by whom the Emperor Octavian is induced to worship Christ; a fresco of admirable execution, and exhibiting an animation of colouring which is very charming. To these works Domenico added a picture in tempera, wherein is the Nativity of Christ,[9] painted in such a manner as to astonish every one who is conversant with art; in this work is the portrait of the master himself, with certain heads of shepherds, which are considered wonderfully fine. In our book we have drawings of the Sybil, and of some other parts of that work, most admirably executed in chiaro-scuro; we have also the perspective exhibiting the bridge of Santa Trinità.

For the Brotherhood of the Ingesuati, Domenico painted the altar-piece of the high altar with various Saints kneeling around the Virgin, San Giusto, Bishop of Volterra namely, titular saint of that church; San Zanobi, Bishop of Florence; the Angel Raphael, San Michele, in magnificent ar-

[8] The frescoes on the exterior of the chapel, God the Father in Glory, and the Sibyl Prophesying, were whitewashed, but have been carefully uncovered by Professor Conti.

[9] This is one of Ghirlandajo's finest works; it was painted in 1485, and is now in the Florentine Academy. In it we see the hand of a master "who combines with the touching *naïveté* of a season of upgrowth a sober and profound science." It offers some of the closest and most solid work upon panel of the fifteenth century and shows how admirable a painter of easel pictures Ghirlandajo could have been had he found time from his greater work as a *frescante.*

mour, with some others ; and of a truth Domenico merits praise for this work, seeing that he was the first who attempted to imitate borderings and ornaments of gold with colours, which had, up to that time, not been the custom.[10] But Domenico did away in a great measure with those flourishes and scrolls formed with gypsum or bole and gold, which were better suited to the decorating of tapestry or hangings, than to the paintings of good masters. But more beautiful than any of the other figures is that of Our Lady, who has the Child in her arms, and four little Angels around her. This picture, than which nothing better could be executed in tempera, was at that time in the church belonging to the above-named friars, without the gate which opens on the road to Pinti ; but that building having been afterwards destroyed, as will be related elsewhere, it is now in the church of San Giovannino, within the gate of San Pietro Gattolini, where the convent of the Ingesuati is situated.

In the church of the Cestello,[11] Domenico commenced a picture which was completed by his brothers David and Benedetto ; the subject of this work is the Visitation of Our Lady, and in it there are certain female heads which are most graceful and beautiful. For the church of the Innocenti,[12] Domenico painted a picture of the Magi, in tempera, which has been highly extolled ; here, too, are

[10] This picture was painted on wood, and is a work of his youth. After the destruction of the church, during the famous siege in 1530, it was taken to a smaller church called La Calza, near the Porta Romana, and in 1857 was carried from thence to the Uffizi Gallery. San Giusto was Archbishop of Lyons.

[11] This picture, painted in 1491, is in the Louvre.

[12] This picture, dated 1488, and still in the church, has been carefully though rather brilliantly restored. It is an important composition, with many figures, and has more of religious sentiment than have most of Ghirlandajo's pictures. A charming episodical feature is the presentation by attendant saints of two Innocents (the patrons and protectors of the Innocenti hospital) ; the latter are haloed babies, who are kneeling unmindful of the wounds which cover their heads and bodies. The workmanship is so minute that the picture should be seen from the head of the staircases leading to the top of the high altar.

many very beautiful heads, both old and young, the attitude and expression finely varied. In the countenance of Our Lady, more particularly, there is the manifestation of all the modesty, grace, and beauty that can be imparted to the Mother of the Son of God by the painter's art. There is likewise a work by this master in the church of San Marco, in the middle aisle, with a Last Supper[13] in the strangers' refectory of the cloister, both executed with much care. In the palace of Giovanni Tornabuoni, Domenico painted the Adoration of the Magi,* also very carefully executed.[14] And in the smaller Hospital † he painted the Story of Vulcan for Lorenzo de' Medici ;[15] in this work there are many figures undraped and wielding heavy hammers, as they labour in the fabrication of thunder-bolts for Jupiter. In the church of Ognissanti, in Florence, Domenico painted, in competition with Sandro Botticelli, a St. Jerome, surrounded by various instruments and books, such as are used by the learned : this fresco is now beside the door which leads into the choir, having been removed, together with that of Botticelli, by the monks, who desired to make alterations in the choir ; and being secured by means of iron bars, &c., they were both transported without injury into the centre of the church ; this was done at the moment when these Lives were in course of being printed for the second time.[16]

The lunette over the door of Santa Maria Ughi was painted by Domenico Ghirlandajo, who likewise executed a small Tabernacle for the guild of the Joiners,‡ and in the

* The words, *in un tondo*, in a round (form), that is to say, painted upon a circular panel or canvas, are omitted here.

† Lo Spedaletto, here translated "smaller hospital," is the name of a country house near Volterra which now belongs to the Corsini princes.

‡ Read flax-merchants (*Linaiuoli*).

[13] The Last Supper is in tolerable condition ; the work mentioned by Vasari as being in the middle aisle has perished.

[14] This picture went to the Palazzo Pandolfini, and thence to England; Milanesi, Vol. III., p. 258, note 5.

[15] These frescoes are badly damaged but still exist.

[16] The St. Jerome painted in 1480 still exists *in situ*.

above-mentioned church of Ognissanti, he painted a figure of St. George killing the Dragon, which is very finely done. And of a truth this master was exceedingly well versed in the execution of mural paintings, which he treated with extraordinary facility; he was nevertheless remarkably careful in the composition * of his works.[17]

Ghirlandajo was invited to Rome by Pope Sixtus IV., to take part with other masters in the painting of his chapel, and he there depicted Christ calling Peter and Andrew from their nets, as also the Resurrection of the Saviour,[18] which is now almost entirely ruined; for being over a door, the architecture of which it has been found necessary to restore, the painting has suffered much damage. Francesco Tornabuoni, a rich and eminent merchant, who was a friend to Domenico, was at that time in Rome, and his wife, having died in childbirth, as has been related,[19] in the life of Andrea Verrocchio, he, desiring to do her all the honour befitting their station, caused a tomb to be constructed in the church of the Minerva, and commissioned Domenico Ghirlandajo to paint the whole face of the wall around it.[20] He likewise caused a small picture to be executed by that master for the same place. The mural paintings consisted of four stories, two from the life of John the Baptist, and two from that of Our Lady, which were all much extolled at the time. Francesco was so entirely satisfied with all

* Read instead of "the composition of his works," the high finish of his works; "*nel comporre le sue cose molto leccato;*" *leccato* means, literally, licked.

[17] The *Lunette*, the Tabernacle, and the St. George have all disappeared.

[18] The Resurrection perished in the demolition of a wall. The Calling of Peter still exists. M. Müntz, in the *Revue Archéologique*, states that David Ghirlandajo did much of the work in all of Domenico's Roman frescoes. Records of payments in 1475 and 1476 exist, but they are for other works done in the Vatican. For the wall-paintings of the Sistine Chapel, see the Life of Botticelli, note 21. Ghirlandajo's fresco here is one of the best of the series; but, like the others, is hardly noticed, being overshadowed by Michelangelo's works in the vaulting.

[19] When Vasari changed the order of the Lives in the second edition he forgot to alter "has been" to "will be."

[20] These paintings have disappeared.

that Domenico had done, that when the master returned to Florence with great honour and large gains, Tornabuoni recommended him by letters to his relation Giovanni, informing the latter how well he had been served by Domenico in the matter of the tomb, and declaring that the Pope also was highly pleased with his pictures. When Giovanni Tornabuoni heard these things, he began to consider how he might best employ the ability of the painter in some magnificent work, which should serve as a perpetual memorial of himself, and at the same time bring renown and advantage to Domenico.

Now it chanced that at this time the principal chapel of Santa Maria Novella, a monastery of the Preaching Friars, which had formerly been painted by Andrea Orgagna, was in many parts injured by the rains which had penetrated to the work, by reason of the roof being imperfectly covered. Many citizens had offered to restore the chapel or to paint it anew, but the owners, who were then of the Ricci family, would never agree to its being done, they not having means to supply the expense themselves, nor could they resolve on yielding the chapel to others who would do it, lest they should lose their right in it, and should see their arms, which had descended to them from their ancestors, removed from the place. But Giovanni Tornabuoni, wishing much that Domenico should raise him this memorial, set to work in the matter, and sought by various devices to effect his purpose. At length he promised the Ricci, not only to take the whole expense on himself, and to make them a recompense in some other matter, but also assured them that he would have their arms emblazoned on the most conspicuous and most honourable place to be found in the chapel. On this condition they agreed, and a solemn contract was made, by means of an instrument carefully drawn up according to the tenor above described. Giovanni then commissioned Domenico to execute the work, the same subjects being retained, as they had been originally painted by Orgagna, and the price agreed on was 1200 gold ducats; but, in the event

of the paintings pleasing him, Giovanni promised to give 200 more.[21] Domenico therefore set hard to the work, and did not cease until the fourth year, when he had entirely finished it—this was in the year 1485. Giovanni was thoroughly satisfied and much pleased with the whole; he admitted that he considered himself well served, and confessed ingenuously that Domenico had gained the additional 200 ducats, but added, that he would be glad if the painter would content himself with the price first agreed on. Ghirlandajo, who valued glory and honour much more than riches, immediately remitted all the remainder, declaring that he had it much more at heart to give Giovanni satisfaction, than to secure the additional payment for himself.[22]

Giovanni Tornabuoni afterwards caused two large es-

[21] The works which so pleased Tornabuoni no longer exist in the Minerva. As for the pictures in the choir of S. Maria Novella, the contract for these frescoes, dated September 1, 1485, is published by Milanesi in *Il Buonarroti*, 1887, II. 335–358. It mentions the subjects, and stipulates that the work shall be finished in four years from May, 1486, by Domenico and David Ghirlandajo. Before the commencement of the work the two brothers were to submit a sketch which should be modified to suit the taste of Tornabuoni. Some of the subjects mentioned in the contract were replaced by others. The contract price was 1,100 florins.

[22] This vast series of frescoes may rank as Domenico's masterpiece, and as one of the important and remarkable works of the Renaissance. It has provoked the unfavorable criticism of Mr. Ruskin and the enthusiasm of Taine, the former calling the artist only "a goldsmith with a gift of portraiture," the latter declaring that "one might pass hours in contemplating the figures of the women," and praising "the divine uncouthness of their gravity." While standing before them M. Leon Bonnât, the eminent French painter, speaking to one of the annotators of this work, emphasized Taine's words by the remark, "*Elles sont superbes mais, un peu sauvages.*" This admiring but critical exclamation exactly characterizes the figures in these frescoes. They are superb, and yet in their direct and somewhat heavy-handed simplicity of execution have that forceful rudeness which the famous French painter found in them. They are all portraits, for it was as natural to Ghirlandajo to make a portrait of anyone whom he painted as it was to Botticelli to depart from individual characteristics and generalize a type of his own. The checker-board division of these frescoes into so many great rectangles, topped on either side of the choir by a *lunette*, is not especially decorative, and the color is not interesting, being rather bricky and abundant in tawny yellows. Yet when seen closely, certain figures, for instance the so-called Ginevra de' Benci (see note 29), are better and more delicate in color than they at first

cutcheons to be executed in stone, the one for the Tornaquinci, the other for the Tornabuoni: these he had erected on the two pilasters outside the chapel; and in the lunette he placed other armorial bearings belonging to different branches of the same family, divided into various names and exhibiting different shields:—the escutcheons, that is, besides the two already named, of the Giachinotti, Popoleschi, Marabottini, and Cardinali. Finally, Domenico painted the altar-piece; and beneath an arch in the gilt frame-work, Giovanni caused a very beautiful tabernacle for the sacrament to be placed, as the completion of the whole work. In the pediment of the tabernacle he then commanded a small shield, a quarter of a braccio only, to be emblazoned with the arms of the owners of the chapel, the Ricci, namely.

But the best was to come; for when the chapel was opened to view, the Ricci sought their arms with a great outcry, and at last, not seeing them, they hastened to the magistrates and laid their contract before the Council of Eight. Thereupon the Tornabuoni proved that they had placed the arms of the Ricci in the most conspicuous and most honourable part of the whole work, and although the latter complained that their escutcheon could not be seen, yet they were declared to be in the wrong, for since the Tornabuoni had caused it to be placed in a position so honourable as the immediate vicinity of the most Holy Sacrament, they ought to be content; it was therefore decided by the magistrates that so it should remain, as we see it to this day. And now if any man think this relation foreign to the life that I am writing, let not this disturb his quiet, for it chanced to present itself at the point of my pen, and if it be to no other purpose, will serve to show in what manner poverty becomes the prey of riches, and how riches, when accompanied by prudence, may attain without censure to the end desired by those who possess them.

But to return to the beautiful works of Domenico. In

seem, and a careful examination enables one to see, to a certain extent, through the veneer of candle smoke which has obscured and coarsened them.

the ceiling of this chapel he first painted colossal figures of the four Evangelists, and on the wall wherein is the window, he depicted stories representing San Domenico, San Pietro the Martyr, and San Giovanni, proceeding into the Wilderness, with Our Lady receiving the annunciation from the Angel: over the window are certain Saints (the patrons of Florence) on their knees, and beneath is the portrait of Giovanni Tornabuoni on the right hand, with that of his wife on the left, both said to be exact likenesses. On the wall to the right hand are seven stories in an equal number of compartments, six beneath, which occupy the entire width of the wall, and one above, which has the width of two of those below, and is enclosed by the vaulted ceiling. On the opposite wall are also seven stories, representing events in the life of St. John the Baptist.

The first picture, on the wall to the right, exhibits Giovacchino driven from the Temple,[23] the patience with which he suffers is expressed in his countenance, while in the faces of the Jews, the contempt and hatred which they feel for those who, without having children, presume to approach the temple, are equally manifest. In this story, on the compartment towards the window, are four men portrayed from the life; one of these, the old man with shaven beard and wearing a red capote, is Alesso Baldovinetti,[24] Domenico's master in painting and mosaic; the second, with uncovered head, who has his hand on his side and wears a red mantle with a blue vestment beneath, is Domenico himself, the author of the work, taken with his own hands by means of a mirror. The third, with long black hair and thick lips, is Bastiano, of San Gemignano, disciple and cousin of Domenico; and the fourth, who turns his back and has a cap or barrett on the head, is the painter David Ghirlandajo, his brother. All these persons are said by those who knew them, to be very animated and faithful likenesses.

[23] An apocryphal story from the *Protovangelium Sancti Jacobi.*

[24] Or, according to Landucci, this is Tommaso, the father of Ghirlandajo. Milanesi finds traces in this fresco of the collaboration of Mainardi.

In the second story is the Birth of the Virgin, painted with extraordinary care, and among other remarkable parts of this work may be mentioned a window of the building which gives light to the room, and which deceives all who look at it. While Santa Anna is in bed, and certain women are ministering to her, others are represented as washing the Madonna with great care,[25] one brings water, another the swathing bands, one occupies herself with one service, another with something else, and while each is attending to that appertaining to her, one has taken the infant in her arms, and smiling into its face, is making it smile in return, with a feminine grace truly appropriate to a work of this character; there are besides other and various expressions exhibited in most of those figures. In the third picture, which is the first in the upper compartment, Our Lady is seen ascending the steps of the temple,[26] and in the background there is a building which recedes from the eye in very correct proportion; there is also an undraped figure, which at that time, as they were not frequently seen, was very much commended, although there is not to be discovered in it that entire perfection of the proportions which we find in those painted in our own day. Near this story is that of the Marriage of the Virgin, when the anger of the suitors is seen to exhale itself in the act of breaking their rods, which do not blossom as does that of Joseph. The figures are in considerable numbers and appear in an appropriate building. In the fifth story, the Magi are seen to arrive in Bethlehem with a vast concourse of men, horses, dromedaries, and many other objects; without doubt a well arranged picture.[27] Near this is the sixth,

[25] In this fresco may be noticed the words Bighordi and Grillandai (early Florentine orthography), the real name and the nickname of the painter, upon the ornaments of the bed. From this interior with its carved wood, its panelling, and its *Majolica* frieze of *Putti* on a blue ground, we obtain an excellent idea of the bedchamber of a Florentine palace. The study for the maid-servant pouring water is in the Uffizi.

[26] M. Müntz (*L'Age d'Or*) says that the Presentation at the Temple is probably in great part by the hands of Ghirlandajo's collaborators.

[27] The central group is greatly injured by the humidity of the walls.

which represents the cruel wickedness practised by Herod against the Innocents, and here we have a most animated contest of women with the soldiers and horses, who strike and drive them about. Of all the stories we have by Domenico Ghirlandajo, this is certainly the best, since it is executed with great judgment, ability, and art. The impious determination of those who kill those poor children at the command of Herod, without regard to the mothers, is rendered most clearly visible: among the babes is one, still hanging to the breast of the mother, while it is dying of wounds received in its throat, so that it sucks, not to say drinks, blood no less than milk from the breast; this is a very striking thought, and by the art with which it is represented is well calculated to recall pity to life even in hearts wherein it had been long dead. There is, moreover, a soldier who has forced a child from the mother, and as he is hurrying away with it, he is killing the innocent by crushing its breast; the mother of the babe is seen hanging to his hair, which she has seized with fury, and forces him to bend back till his person forms an arch—in this group three different effects are finely displayed, one the death of the child, who is seen to expire; another, the cruelty of the soldier, who, feeling himself dragged as described, is obviously avenging himself on the infant; and the third is the determination manifested by the mother, who, seeing the death of her child, resolves in her rage and despair that the murderer shall not depart without suffering: all this is in fact more after the manner of a deeply-thinking philosopher, than of a painter. There are, besides, many other passions and emotions rendered manifest in these stories, insomuch that he who examines them will infallibly perceive this master to have been among the truly excellent ones of his time. Above these and in the seventh picture, which comprises the width of two of the lower ones, and is closed by the arch of the vault, Ghirlandajo has depicted the death of the Madonna and her Assumption; she is surrounded by a large number of Angels, and there are various

figures, landscapes, and other ornaments, wherein Domenico, with his able manner and practised facility, always abounded.

On the opposite wall are stories from the Life of John the Baptist. In the first, Zacharias is seen offering sacrifice in the temple, and the angel appears to him ; when he, not believing, is rendered dumb. In this picture the painter has shown that the sacrifices of those times were resorted to by the most honourable of the people ; and this he has effected by placing among those offering sacrifices, the most distinguished citizens of Florence, portrayed from those who then governed that state, more particularly the members of the Tornabuoni family, old and young. And in addition to this, desiring to make it obvious that his age abounded in every kind of talent, but more particularly in learning, Domenico painted a group of four figures in half length ; they stand conversing together in the foreground, and were the most learned men then to be found in Florence. The first is Messer Marsilio Ficino, who wears the dress of a Canon ; the second, in a red mantle, with a black band round his neck, is Cristofano Landino. The figure turning towards him is the Greek Demetrius,[28] and he who, standing between them, somewhat raises his hand, is Messer Angelo Poliziano, all of whom are most animated and life-like portraits. In the second story, which is next to this, there follows the Visitation of Our Lady to St. Elizabeth, they are accompanied by several women clothed in the dress

[28] The figure here called Demetrius Chalcondylas is Gentile de' Becchi, Bishop of Arezzo, and preceptor to Lorenzo the Magnificent. According to Milanesi, Vol. III., 266, at the time that this fresco was finished a kind of key drawing of the various portrait heads, numbered and catalogued, was made. There were several copies of this key drawing; one is still in the Tornaquinci family, another in the Baldovinetti family. Milanesi, III., 266, gives the complete list of twenty-one names. See also Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, p. 267. These names are principally of Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci, while the Popoleschi, Giachinotti, Lassetti, Ridolfi, and Medici families are each represented by a single member ; in addition to these there are the famous humanists, Landino, Poliziano, and Ficino, while even the buffoon, Benedetto Dei, is recorded.

of those times, and among them is the portrait of Ginevra de' Benci, then a very beautiful maiden.[29]

In the third story, which is above the first, is the Birth of St. John the Baptist, and in this there is a very pleasing circumstance. St. Elizabeth is in bed, and certain of her neighbours have come to visit her; the nurse is seated, feeding the child, when one of the women joyfully steps forward and takes him from her, to show to those around how fair a present the mistress of the house has made them in her old age, there is, besides, a peasant-woman bringing fruit and flasks of wine from the country, according to the custom in Florence: a very beautiful figure. In the fourth picture, which is beside this, is Zacharias, still dumb, but keeping good courage, and marvelling that the boy he is gazing at should be born to *him;* the bystanders are desiring to know what his name is to be, and Zacharias, writing on his knee, while still fixing his eyes on his son, who is in the arms of a woman, who has reverently placed herself on her knees before him, marks with his pen on the leaf, *Giovanni sarà il suo nome* (John shall be his name), not without manifest astonishment on the part of those around, some of whom appear to be in doubt whether the thing be true or not. The fifth story follows, wherein John is seen preaching to the multitude and here the painter exhibits the attention which the populace ever gives when hearing some new thing: there is much expression in the heads of the Scribes who are listening to John, and whose mien and gestures betoken a kind of scorn, or rather hatred of what they hear. A large number of persons stand or sit around, men and women of different conditions and variously attired.

In the sixth picture, St. John is seen baptizing Christ, the reverence displayed in whose countenance clearly shows

[29] Ginevra de' Benci was dead at this time; but Giovanna degli Albizzi, *fiancée* of Lorenzo di Giovanni Tornabuoni, may be recognized, and the girl in gold brocade on the other side of the choir is the sister of Lorenzo. See Ridolfi, *Giovanna Tornabuoni e Ginevra de' Benci nel Coro di S. M. Novella*, 1890, cited by MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, p. 268.

the faith which we ought to place in that sacrament, and as this did not fail to produce a great effect, numerous figures, already unclothed and barefoot, are seen waiting to be baptized, meanwhile showing the trust they entertain and the desire they feel in their countenances: one among these figures, who is drawing off his shoe, is life and movement itself. In the last story, that in the arch beneath the ceiling, is the sumptuous feast of Herod, and the dance of Herodias,[30] with a vast number of attendants performing various services; the building, of extraordinary magnificence, which is seen in perspective, clearly proves the ability of the master, as indeed do all these paintings.

The altar-piece, which is entirely isolated, Domenico painted in tempera, as he did the other figures in the six pictures. Among these is Our Lady enthroned in the air with the Child in her arms, and with numerous saints around her. San Lorenzo, and San Stefano, namely, who are full of life, with San Vincenzio, and San Pietro. It is true that a portion of this work remained incomplete on account of Domenico's death; but as he had made considerable progress in it, the only part unfinished being certain figures in the back-ground of the Resurrection of Christ, with three more in other places, the whole was afterwards finished by his brothers Benedetto and David Ghirlandajo.[31]

This chapel was considered to be an extremely fine work, majestic and beautiful, charming by the vivacity of the

[30] Salome rather.

[31] In 1804 the old altar was taken to pieces and the altar-piece was divided, part going to Munich and part to Berlin. The front portions, believed to be by Domenico himself, and now in Munich, represent in a centre panel the Virgin and Child, with the Magdalen and St. Dominick; in the right-hand panel is a Saint Catherine of Siena, in the left hand panel St. Lawrence as a deacon. The pictures from the back of the altar-piece, now in Berlin, show in the centre a Resurrection of Christ, at left and right Saints Antonio and Vincenzo Ferreri. The Berlin pictures are said to be by David and Benedetto Ghirlandajo. Morelli seems rather to admit the attribution to Domenico. Two other figures of saints were sold to Lucien Bonaparte in 1804, and the *gradino* is lost. The altar-piece dates from about 1490. See Milanesi, Vol. III., p. 269, note. The choir window, designed by Ghirlandajo and executed by Sandro di Giovanni d'Andrea Agolanti, was completed in 1491.

colouring, and admirable as mural painting for the facility of the treatment, and because it received but very few touches *a secco*, to say nothing of the invention and composition. The master, without doubt, deserves infinite commendation on all accounts, but most of all for the animation of the heads, which, being portrayed from nature, present to all who see them the most lively similitudes of many distinguished persons.

For the same Giovanni Tornabuoni, Domenico painted a chapel at his villa of the Casso Maccherelli,[32] situate at no great distance from the city, on the river Terzolle, but which has since been destroyed by the encroachments of the torrent; yet the paintings, although for many years uncovered, continually exposed to rain, and burnt by the sun, have maintained their freshness to such a degree, that one might believe they had been covered all the time—such are the effects of a judicious and careful execution in fresco, and of refraining from retouching the work when dry. Domenico likewise painted numerous figures of Florentine Saints in the hall [33] wherein the wonderful clock of Lorenzo della Volpaja stands,[34] adding many rich and beautiful embellishments. This artist found so much pleasure in his labours, and was so willing to satisfy all who desired to possess his works, that he commanded his scholars to accept whatever commission was brought to the *Bottega*, even though it were hoops for women's baskets, declaring that if they would not paint them he would do it himself, to the end that none might depart from his workshops dissatisfied. But when household cares were laid upon him, he com-

[32] This should be Chiasso Maceregli, once the Villa Tornabuoni, now the Villa Lemmi, from which came the famous Botticelli frescoes in the Louvre.

[33] In this fresco (1481–1485) Domenico painted three triumphal arches with a Saint Zenobius enthroned between other saints. There are also figures of Brutus, Mucius Scævola, Camillus, Decius, Scipio, and Cicero, as well as a Madonna with angels above. The hall is called, variously, *Sala dell' Orologio* (Hall of the Clock) and *Sala de' Gigli* (Hall of the Lilies), and is in the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence.

[34] This clock is now in the Florentine Museum of Natural History.

plained bitterly, and committed the charge of all expenditure to his brother David, saying to him, "Leave me to work and do thou provide, for now that I have begun to get into the spirit and comprehend the method of this art, I grudge that they do not commission me to paint the whole circuit of all the walls of Florence with stories;" thus proving the resolved and invincible character of his mind in whatever he undertook.[35]

In Lucca, Domenico painted a picture of San Pietro, and San Paolo, for the church of San Martino,[36] and in the Abbey di Settimo, near Florence, he painted the principal chapel in fresco, with two pictures in tempera for the middle aisle of the church.[37] This master, moreover, executed various works for different parts of Florence, pictures round[38] and square, which are dispersed through the houses of the citizens, and are therefore not seen beyond them. In Pisa he adorned the recess above the high altar in the cathedral,[39] and performed various works in different parts of the city, as, for example, at the house of the wardens, where he depicted a story on one of the walls, representing King Charles portrayed from the life, who recommends the city of Pisa to the friendly consideration of the Florentines.[40] He also painted two pictures in distemper in the church of San Girolamo, for the Frati Gesuati, that of the high altar, namely, and another.[41] In the same place there is, besides,

[35] Among these minor works were four huge candlesticks for S. Maria Novella, 1484.

[36] This work is still in the sacristy of San Martino.

[37] In 1664 changes were made in the abbey of Settimo; perhaps the frescoes perished at that time. They are not mentioned by Sig. Marcotti in his long description of the abbey. *Guide-Souvenir de Florence*, 305–307.

[38] Of these round pictures (*tondi*) of Ghirlandajo the largest and finest is in the Uffizi, and is an Adoration of the Magi, painted in 1487.

[39] The picture in the Pisan Duomo is almost a complete restoration.

[40] This work is lost; it is supposed that it was painted to commemorate the peace between Charles VIII. and Florence, 1494.

[41] The Gesuati should be distinguished from the Gesuiti (Jesuits), a different brotherhood. According to Dal Morrona the two works mentioned by Vasari are now in the church of Santa Anna.

a picture representing San Rocco and San Sebastiano, from the hand of this master; it was presented to those fathers by I know not which of the Medici, and they have added to it, most probably on that account, the arms of Pope Leo X.[42]

Domenico is said to have possessed so accurate an eye, that when making drawings from the various antiquities of Rome, as triumphal arches, baths, columns, colossal figures, obelisks, amphitheatres, and aqueducts, he did all by the eye, using neither rule, nor compass, nor instruments of any kind; but afterwards, measuring what he had done, every part was found to be correct, and in all respects as if he had measured them. He drew the Colosseum in this manner by the eye, placing a figure standing upright in the drawing, by measuring which, the proportions of all the building will be found; this was tried by the masters after Domenico's death, and found to be rigidly correct.

Over a door of the cemetery of Santa Maria Nuova, Domenico painted a San Michele armed, in fresco; this is a very beautiful picture, and exhibits the reflection of light from the armour in a manner rarely seen before his time. For the abbey of Passignano, which belongs to the monks of Vallombrosa, Domenico executed certain works in company with his brother David and Bastiano of Gemignano.[43] The two latter, finding themselves ill-treated and poorly fed by the monks before the arrival of Domenico, had recourse to the abbot, requesting him to give orders that they should have better food, since it was not decent that they should be treated like bricklayers' hod-men. This the abbot promised them to do, and excused himself by saying, that what they complained of had happened more from the ignorance of the monk who had the charge of strangers, than from evil intention. But when Domenico arrived, the same mismanagement still continued; whereupon David, seeking the abbot once more, apologized for pressing him, with the

[42] This work has perished.

[43] The San Michele has perished, and the works painted at Passignano are no longer to be found.

assurance that he did it not on his own account but for his brother's sake, whose merits and abilities deserved consideration. The abbot, however, like an ignorant man as he was, made no other reply. In the evening, therefore, when they sat down to supper, the monk entrusted with the care of strangers, came as usual with a board, whereon were porringers in the usual fashion, and coarse meats fit only for common labourers. Whereupon David rose in a rage, threw the soup over the friar, and seizing the great loaf from the board, he fell upon him therewith, and belaboured him in such a fashion that he was carried to his cell more dead than alive. The abbot, who had already gone to bed, arose on hearing the clamour, believing the monastery to be falling down, and finding the monk in a bad condition, began to reproach David. But the latter replied in a fury, bidding him begone from his sight, and declaring the talents of Domenico to be worth more than all the hogs of abbots of his sort that had ever inhabited the monastery. The abbot being thus brought to his senses, did his best from that moment to treat them like honourable men as they were.

Having completed his work at the abbey of Passignano, Domenico returned to Florence, where he painted a picture for the Signor di Carpi,[44] with another which he sent to Rimini, to the Signor Carlo Malatesta, who caused it to be placed in his chapel in San Domenico. This picture was in tempera, and contained three singularly fine figures, with stories in smaller figures below, and others behind painted to imitate bronze, the whole displaying much judgment and art.[45] Two pictures were likewise painted by this master for the abbey of San Giusto,[46] outside Volterra, which be-

[44] This work is lost.

[45] These works still exist at Rimini, in the Palazzo Pubblico. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (History of Painting) mention, among other works of Ghirlandajo, two pictures in Berlin of the Virgin and Child. In one of these paintings the figures of Saints John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and two kneeling saints were painted by Granacci.

[46] A picture (1492) still remains on the altar of S. Romualdo and in the oratory of S. Ansano; in Volterra there is another, while in the Cappella San

longs to the order of Camaldoli : these pictures, which are truly beautiful, Domenico painted by command of the illustrious Lorenzo de' Medici, the abbey being then held *in commendam* by his son Giovanni, Cardinal de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Leo : and it is but a few years since, that the same abbey was restored by the very reverend Messer Giovan-Batista Bava, of Volterra, who also held it *in commendam* to the before-mentioned Brotherhood of Camaldoli.

Being then invited to Siena by the intervention of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Domenico undertook to decorate the façade of the cathedral in mosaic, Lorenzo himself becoming his surety to the extent of 20,000 ducats,[47] for the execution of the work, a labour which he commenced with much zeal and in a better manner than had ever been seen before. But the work was interrupted by the death of the master, who left his task unfinished, as he had previously left the chapel of San Zanobi, which he had begun to adorn with mosaic work in company with the miniature painter, Gherardo, but which was left incomplete on account of the death of the illustrious Lorenzo.

Over that side door of Santa Maria del Fiore which leads into* the convent of the Servites, Domenico executed an Annunciation in mosaic,[48] so finely done, that nothing better has ever been produced by the modern masters in that art. Domenico was wont to say that painting was design, but that the true painting for eternity was mosaic.[49]

Among those who studied their art under Domenico was Bastiano Mainardi of St. Gemignano, who became a very

Carlo of the Duomo is a Madonna with the Child and SS. Bartolommeo and Antonio *Abate* (the latter saint is probably not by Ghirlandajo).

* Rather *toward* than *into* the convent.

[47] Milanesi proves that David, not Domenico, Ghirlandajo contracted for these mosaics, and that Massaino di Goro Massaini, not Lorenzo de' Medici, was surety. The contract, made in 1483, was not carried out.

[48] This mosaic, dating from 1489, is still in place.

[49] Mosaics for the chapel of San Zanobi were ordered of the Ghirlandaji, Botticelli, and two miniature-painters, but were not executed.

able master in fresco ; wherefore, proceeding together to San Gemignano, Domenico and Bastiano painted the chapel of Santa Fina in company, and produced a work of much beauty.[50] The faithful service and ready kindness of Bastiano, who always acquitted himself well, caused Domenico to judge him worthy to receive one of his sisters in marriage, their friendship thus became relationship, the reward bestowed by an approving master in recompense of the labours and pains wherewith his disciple had attained to proficiency in their art. In Santa Croce, Domenico caused Bastiano to paint an Assumption of Our Lady for the chapel of the Baroncelli and Bandini, with San Tommaso receiving the girdle below.[51] This is an admirable fresco, but the cartoon was prepared by Domenico himself. At Siena, in an apartment of the Spannocchi Palace, Domenico and Bastiano painted various stories in company, the work is in frescoe and the figures are small.[52] In the cathedral of Pisa, likewise, in addition to the recess in the choir, of which I have before spoken, they adorned the whole arch of the same chapel with a numerous choir of angels : they also painted the doors which close the organ, and began to decorate the wood-work in gold. But at the moment when Domenico had many other great works in hand, both at Pisa and Siena, he fell sick of a violent fever, the pestiferous nature of which deprived him in five days of his life. Hearing of his illness, the family of Tornabuoni sent him the gift of a hundred ducats, as a proof of the friendly consideration with which they acknowledged the services performed by Domenico for Giovanni, and the good will he had ever borne to all of that house.

Domenico Ghirlandajo lived forty-four years, and was

[50] This interesting series of frescoes, the history of Santa Fina, is considered by M. Müntz to be one of the earliest works of our artist, perhaps even antedating 1475. The charming heads of choristers in these frescoes are especially worthy of study.

[51] This work is *in situ*.

[52] Milanesi, who has studied Sienese documents, finds no mention of Domenico in them.

borne by his brothers David and Benedetto, and Ridolfo his son, with sorrowing hearts and many tears to his grave in Santa Maria Novella, wherein they deposited his remains with most honourable obsequies. The loss of Domenico was a cause of great sorrow to his friends, and many eminent foreign painters, when they heard thereof, wrote to his relations to condole with them on his premature death. Of his disciples there remained David and Benedetto Ghirlandajo, Bastiano Mainardi of San Gemignano, and the Florentine Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, with Francesco Granaccio, Niccolo Cieco, Jacopo del Tedesco, Jacopo dell' Indaco, Buldino Baldinelli, and other masters, all Florentines. He died in the year 1495.[53] [54]

The art of painting in mosaic after the modern manner,

[53] Domenico died January 11, 1494, probably of the plague, as he was ill only four days. He was buried in S. Maria Novella, "on Saturday evening [January 11, 1494], between the twenty-fourth hour and the first." See interesting details from the Florentine Archives in Milanesi, Vol. III., 277–78.

[54] In the trio of great Florentine painters whose works filled the last quarter of the fifteenth century Ghirlandajo is less original than Botticelli, less tender than Filippino Lippi, but more powerful than either of them and far more direct. The note which he strikes is less thrilling, but deeper; the types he presents are less fascinating, but more human. The Florentine citizen, standing grave and dignified in his long gown, the Florentine woman, at once simple and stately in her stiff brocades or flowing mantle, are what he loved best to paint in all nature. He was a portrait-painter by instinct; it was as natural to him to make his painted personage like the model as it was to Sandro to see that model through the medium of his own artistic personality. In Ghirlandajo's work there is none of the mannerism of Botticelli, only a trace of the classicism of Filippino, and not a sign of the exaggerated movement of Signorelli. Domenico's figures do not mince or swagger, they take the poses of well-bred people sitting for their portraits, and stand naturally and quietly on either side of his compositions looking out at the spectator or at each other, not paying much attention to the drama or the miracle, in which Ghirlandajo himself takes but little interest. Costume and background are treated in the same sober spirit. Goldsmith as he was, he did not fill his pictures with dainty details like Botticelli, who devised strange settings for jewels and patterns for brocades and curiously intricate headgear; with Ghirlandajo costume and background are accessories, and are subordinated to the general effect. He does not lack invention, and can introduce charming episodes when he pleases, like the graceful girls, real Renaissance *Canephorae*, who pour water or carry baskets of fruit in the choir frescoes, or the group of grave, sweet, boy choristers in the Santa Fina series at San Gemignano. But often the

was enriched by Domenico more than any other Tuscan of the numbers who have laboured therein, as may be seen by his works, even though they are but few ; wherefore he has well deserved to be honoured, for his rich and varied talents, with a high rank in art, and to be celebrated with the highest praises after his death.

ideal figures are the weakest point in his pictures (see the Zacharias and the angels in the choir of Santa Maria Novella), just as the contemporary Florentines, standing with hand on hip or folded arms, are apt to form the strongest portion of the composition. His drawing is very firm and frank, and he was the best all-round draughtsman that had appeared up to his time ; the color in his frescoes tends to bricky reds and ochres, in his *tempera* to strong and brilliant tones, which are occasionally even gaudy. Woltmann and Woermann say well that in his school he represents the highest development of realism, "a realism kept in check by dignity of style." This robust naturalism is the complement in Tuscan art of Botticelli's subtle and somewhat morbid idealism. Where Sandro or Filippino are subtle, ardent, introspective, seeing human nature through their own artistic temperaments, Ghirlandajo, a true painter, shows his subtlety in characterization, in differentiation of feature, in seizing the personality of each model, in sympathetic comprehension of widely differing types of men. He occupies himself, like Masaccio, with the external appearance of things, and, like Masaccio, orders his groups simply in balanced masses, sacrificing the episode to the general effect, and his grave and virile style becomes the link between Masaccio in the beginning and Raphael at the culmination of the art of painting. To the student of the Renaissance, of Florentine history, or of the "human document," Ghirlandajo's portraits of the contemporaries of the magnificent Lorenzo and of Savonarola are invaluable ; the old town still lives in these frescoes, and though the master was not given " the walls of Florence to paint," as he desired, he portrayed the world within those walls.

ANTONIO AND PIERO POLLAJOLI, FLORENTINE PAINTERS AND SCULPTORS

[Born 1429; died 1498.] [Born 1443; died in or before 1496.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Hermann Ulmann, *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, XV., p. 220. J. Friedländer, *Antonio Pollaiolo, die Italienischen Schaumünzen der Fünfzehnten Jahreszeit; Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, III., p. 29. Luigi Borsori, *Antonio del Pollaiuolo e gli Orsini*, Rome, 1891. M. Müntz, in his *L'Age d'Or*, p. 459, refers the student of bronze casting in the Renaissance to De Champeaux, *Dictionnaire des Fondeurs, Ciseleurs, Modeleurs en Bronze et Doreurs*, Paris, 1886; to Molinier, *Les Bronzes de la Renaissance*, and to Drury-Fortnum's Catalogue of the Bronzes in South Kensington Exhibition.

THERE are many who, with a timid mind, commence unimportant works, but whose courage afterwards increasing with the facility obtained from practice, their power and efficiency increase in proportion, insomuch that, aspiring to more exalted labours, they gradually raise themselves by the elevation of their thoughts almost to heaven itself. Favoured by fortune, they then often happily encounter some liberal prince who, finding his expectations amply satisfied, is compelled to remunerate their services in so liberal a manner, that their successors derive great advantage and important immunities from the labours thus rewarded. Such men then proceed through life with so much honour to the end, that they leave memorials which awaken the admiration of the world, as did Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, who in their time were highly esteemed and honoured, for the rare acquirements to which with labour and pains they had attained.

These artists were born in the city of Florence,* but few years after each other: their father was a man of low con-

* Read "one but a few years after the other."

dition,[1] and not in easy circumstances ; but he perceived, by various indications, the clear and just intelligence of his sons, and not having the means of obtaining a learned education for them,[2] he placed Antonio with Bartoluccio Ghiberti, then a very eminent master in his calling, to learn the art of the goldsmith, and Piero he sent to study painting with Andrea dal Castagno, who was at that time the best master in Florence.[3] Antonio, therefore, being brought forward by Bartoluccio, employed himself, not only with the setting of jewels, and the preparation of silver enamelled in fire, but was, moreover, held to be the best of all who handled the chisel in that vocation, and Lorenzo Ghiberti, who was then working at the gates of San Giovanni, having remarked the ability of Antonio, employed him with many other young men to assist himself, setting him to execute one of those festoons with which he was at the moment occupied.[4] Here Antonio produced a quail, which may still be seen, and is so beauiful, nay, so perfect, that it wants nothing but the power of flight. Antonio had not spent

[1] Their names were, respectively, Antonio d' Jacopo d' Antonio Benci, called del Pollajuolo, and Piero d' Jacopo d' Antonio Benci, called del Pollajuolo (Pollaiolo, or Pollaiuolo). In spite of the name del Pollajuolo (the poulterer's son), their origin seems to have been less humble than Vasari would have it, as their father was a Florentine citizen. A certain Jacopo d'Antonio worked upon Ghiberti's gates, and as the father of the Pollajuoli bore that name and was a goldsmith, there is a presumption, though no proof, that the more famous brothers were his sons. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle state that Antonio was articled to his father and closed his apprenticeship in 1459.

[2] The lives of Antonio and Piero have been much confused, and are not yet wholly disentangled. Probably they never will be so, but late investigation has considerably enlarged the part taken by Piero in the collaboration of the brothers.

[3] Morelli believes that Alesso Baldovinetti may have been his first master; some critics accept Vasari's statement.

[4] Ghiberti apparently employed someone of the name of Pollajuolo upon the ornamental bordering of flowers, fruits, and animals with which he surrounded the Baptistery gate of Andrea Pisano. The quail is placed in this bordering. As Antonio was only fourteen years old when the last gate was completed, there is reason to believe that here Vasari means Jacopo d' Antonio, who was probably the father of Antonio. The Bartoluccio Ghiberti mentioned was the step-father of Lorenzo Ghiberti.

many weeks at this occupation, therefore, before he was acknowledged to be the best of all who worked thereat, whether for correctness in design, or patience in execution, and was, besides, more ingenious and more diligent than any other assistant of Lorenzo in that work. His ability and reputation thus increasing together, Antonio left Bartoluccio and Lorenzo, opening a large and handsome goldsmith's shop for himself on the Mercato Nuovo, in that same city of Florence. Here he pursued his occupation for several years, continually preparing new designs, and making chandeliers in relief, and other fanciful works, which caused him in a short time to be justly reputed the first of his vocation.

There lived at the same time another goldsmith called Maso Finiguerra, who had a great name, and deservedly, since there had never been any master in engraving or niello who had surpassed him in the number of figures which he could efficiently group together, whether in a larger or smaller space. Of this there is proof in the different patines executed by him, and which still remain in San Giovanni, in Florence, exhibiting stories from the life of Christ, which are most minutely elaborate. This master drew well and much ; in our book we have many specimens from his hand, figures namely, some undraped, others clothed, with stories in water-colour.[5] In competition with Maso Finiguerra,

[5] One of these patens is in the Uffizi, where drawings by Maso Finiguerra are also preserved. See also *Les Nielles de Tommaso Finiguerra et de Dei*, in *L'Art*, March 25, 1883, and February 15, 1884. There are some ten little bronzes in the Bargello, at Florence, which certain critics ascribe to Antonio Pollajuolo, and which he would not disdain, says M. André Pérate (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1892, Vol. 71, 3d *period*, pp. 334). M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 459, claims that the bronzes of this epoch of the Renaissance are nowhere more brilliantly represented than in the private collections of Paris, of MM. G. Dreyfus, Edouard André, Fould, etc. Those of the Spitzer collection were famous. The bronze *plaque* of the Crucifixion in the Florentine Bargello is now claimed for Agostino di Duccio, and M. Courajod (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1883) believes the bronze door of the reliquary containing the chains of St. Peter (in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome) to be a work of the Roman school. See E. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, pp. 508–509. Sig. Umberto Rossi, *Il Museo Nazionale di Firenze nel Triennio*, 1889–1891, in the *Archivio*

Antonio executed various stories, wherein he fully equalled his competitor in careful execution, while he surpassed him in beauty of design. The syndics of the guild of merchants being thus convinced of Antonio's ability, and certain stories in silver being required for the altar of San Giovanni, for which it had ever been customary to prepare such, at different times and by various masters, they resolved among themselves to employ Antonio for the purpose. This resolution was carried into effect, and the works executed in consequence were so excellent, that they were acknowledged to be the best of all that were to be seen there.[6] The subjects chosen were the Feast of Herod and the Dance of Herodias;[7] but more beautiful than all the rest is the St. John, in the centre of the altar, a work most highly extolled, and executed entirely with the chisel. The consuls then commissioned Antonio to prepare the silver chandeliers, three braccia high, with the cross in proportion, when the master enriched his work with such a profusion of chasing, and completed the whole to such a degree of perfection, that, whether by his countrymen or by foreigners, it has ever been considered a most wonderful and admirable work. Antonio Pollaiuolo bestowed the most unwearied pains on all his undertakings, whether in gold, enamel, or silver: among others, are certain patines in San Giovanni, coloured so beautifully, that these enamels, completed by the action

Storico dell' Arte, 1893, pp. 1–24, attributes to Antonio del Pollajuolo four different bronzes of a Faun Playing a Pipe and a bronze statuette (reproduced p. 16, *op. cit.*) of a Marsyas.

[6] Antonio executed only the Nativity; the Feast and the Dance were respectively by Antonio di Salvi and Francesco di Giovanni. This silver *Dossale* of the altar of San Giovanni is kept in the *guarda-roba* of the Opera del Duomo (Museum of Santa Maria del Fiore), but is taken to the Baptistery once a year, on St. John's day, and there used in the service. The figure of Saint John upon the altar was by Michelozzo, and only the lower portion of the cross was by Antonio, working in collaboration with Miliano di Domenico Dei. For long note referring to the silver altar, see Milanesi. There are superb reproductions of the silver-work of the altar, cross, etc., of San Giovanni in Vol. II., tables 3 and 4, of *L'Arte Italiana Decorativa e Industriale* (Camillo Boito).

[7] Salome.

of fire, could scarcely be more delicately finished even with the pencil. In other churches likewise in Florence and Rome, as well as in other parts of Italy, his miraculous enamels are to be seen.

Antonio taught his art to Mazzingo, a Florentine, and to Giuliano del Facchino, who were tolerably good masters. He likewise imparted it to Giovanni Turini, of Siena, who greatly surpassed both his companions in that calling; wherein from Antonio di Salvi (who executed many good works, as, for example, a large cross in silver for the abbey of Florence, with other things), down to our own day, there has not been much done that can be considered extraordinary. But many of his works, as well as those of the Pollaiuoli, have been broken and melted for the necessities of the city in times of war.

Eventually, considering that this art did not secure a long life to the works of its masters, Antonio, desiring for his labours a more enduring memory, resolved to devote himself to it no longer;[8] and his brother, Piero, being a painter, he joined himself to him for the purpose of learning the modes of proceeding in painting. He then found this to be an art so different from that of the goldsmith, that, had his resolution to abandon the first entirely not been so hastily adopted, he might possibly have wished that he had never addressed himself to the other. But now, being impelled by shame rather than by the advantage to be obtained, he acquired a knowledge of the processes used in painting in the course of a few months, and became an excellent master. Having joined himself entirely to Piero, they executed numerous paintings in concert; among others, a picture in oil at San Miniato al Monte, for the cardinal of Portugal, who was a

[8] On the contrary, his life's work was that of a goldsmith, sculptor, and bronze-caster; his painting is of secondary interest. M. Müntz says this era of the Renaissance might be called the epoch of the goldsmiths, since the guild of the goldworkers furnished so many great names to the list of Florentine artists. The handsome new publication, *L'Arte Italiana Decorativa e Industriale*, directed by Signor Camillo Boito, gives many fine chromolithographs in color, gold, etc., of Italian metal-work of this and later epochs.

great lover of painting. This work[9] was placed on the altar of that prelate's chapel, the figures depicted in it are those of the apostle St. James, Sant' Eustachio, and San Vincenzio, which have all been greatly praised. Piero in particular painted certain figures on the wall of the same chapel in oil, the method of which he had learned from Andrea dal Castagno. These were representations of some of the prophets, and were executed in the angles beneath the architrave: in the lunette he painted an Annunciation, comprising three[10] figures. For the Capitani di Parte, likewise, Piero painted a Virgin with the Child in her arms; and surrounded by seraphim, also painted in oil.[11] In San Michele in Orto, the two brothers painted a picture in oil representing the angel Raphael with Tobit;[12] and in the Mercatanzia of Florence they depicted figures of the Virtues; in that part of the building, namely, where the tribunal of the court holds its sittings.[13]

In the pronconsolate, where the portraits of Zanobi da Strada, a Florentine poet, of Donato Acciaiuoli, and of others, had before been painted by other masters, Antonio portrayed Messer Poggio, secretary to the Signoria of Florence, and who continued the Florentine history after the death of Messer Leonardo d'Arezzo; with Messer Giannozzo Manetti, a man of considerable learning, and held in much esteem; both taken from the life.[14] For the chapel of the

[9] Painted in 1470, the heads in distemper, the rest in oil. It is now in the Uffizi, and is generally attributed to Piero. Dr. Richter (notes to Vasari, p. 126) supports that author as to the collaboration of Antonio with Piero in this work.

[10] There are eight half-length figures, partially destroyed; also there are figures of the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church. Milanesi says the Annunciation has two figures only, and never could have had more. The figures in the vaulting are now generally attributed to Baldovinetti, the Annunciation to Baldovinetti or Piero.

[11] This work is lost.

[12] The picture which was in Or San Michele is, according to Milanesi, the one in the Pinacoteca of Turin.

[13] These are now in the Uffizi. The "Fortitude" is accredited to Botticelli, the others are by Pollajuolo.

[14] These portraits are lost. A portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in the

Pucci in the church of San Sebastian of the Servites, Antonio painted the altar piece—a remarkable and admirably executed work, with numerous horses, many undraped figures, and singularly beautiful foreshortenings. This picture [15] likewise contains the portrait of St. Sebastian himself, taken from the life—from the face of Gino di Ludovico Capponi,[16] that is—the painting has been more extolled than any other ever executed by Antonio. He has evidently copied nature in this work to the utmost of his power, as we perceive more particularly in one of the archers, who, bending towards the earth, and resting his weapon against

Uffizi, and formerly attributed to Antonio, has been restored to Piero. See Sig. Umberto Rossi, *L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, I., 160.

[15] This picture is in the National Gallery. Albertini in his *Memoriale* accredits it to Piero del Pollajuolo. Morelli attributes the design of the picture to Antonio, the execution of the painting to Piero. Sir Henry Layard says that the vehicle used in this picture is indeterminate as yet, and that although it is not *tempera*, it cannot be considered as an Italian continuation of the Van Eyck process of oil painting. This famous painting has inspired one of Mr. Ruskin's most indignant reflections in his Ariadne Florentina, and a severe condemnation of anatomical study in painting. See Taine's *Voyage en Italie* for an appreciation of the fifteenth-century artists' passion for anatomy, of their feeling "that to embellish life was to falsify life," that "a human being in whom they do not feel it (the bony and muscular structure) seems to them empty and unsubstantial." In fact, the picture is a typical example of the aims and methods of a whole group of Florentine realists, the sense of beauty being momentarily lost in the attempt to give a rendering of the muscular system, which, if hard and dry, shall be complete and apparent. For an important article on the pictures and drawings of the Pollajuoli see Hermann Ulmann, in the *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, XV., 220. As already mentioned, Albertini, in his *Memoriale* (1510), attributes the St. Sebastian to Piero. Recent critics also claim for him a fresco in Sta. Croce, formerly given to Andrea dal Castagno, and representing Saints John and Francis. Piero painted in 1483, in the choir of the *Collegiale* at San Gimignano, a Coronation of the Virgin, and there is a good Madonna and also a Tobias in the National Gallery, which are accredited to him, while there are in different galleries pictures which critics attribute variously to Piero, to Verrocchio, and others. Among these is the beautiful panel of the Florentine Academy, Tobias and the three Archangels (No. 84 in the Gallery), called by Morelli an inferior picture. It is by Dr. Bode attributed to Verrocchio, while MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, in their *Florence*, merely question the attribution to Botticelli, in the catalogue of the Gallery.

[16] Gino Capponi died in 1421; it is doubtful if Vasari's statement be correct.

his breast, is employing all the force of a strong arm to prepare it for action; the veins are swelling, the muscles strained, and the man holds his breath as he applies all his strength to the effort. Nor is this the only figure executed with care; all the others are likewise well done, and in the diversity of their attitudes give clear proof of the artist's ability and of the labour bestowed by him on his work; all which was fully acknowledged by Antonio Pucci, who gave him three hundred scudi for the picture, declaring at the same time that he was hardly paying him for the colours. This work was completed in the year 1475. The courage of Antonio was increased by this circumstance, and in San Miniato-fra-le-Torri, without the gate, he painted a St. Christopher ten braccia high—a work admirably executed in the modern manner, the figure being more correctly proportioned than any of such size that had then been seen. He afterwards painted a Crucifixion with Sant' Antonino, on canvas, which was placed in the chapel of that saint in the church of San Marco. In the palace of the Signoria of Florence, this master depicted a San Giovanni Batista, at the Porta della Catena; and in the Medici Palace he painted three pictures for Lorenzo the elder, each containing a figure of Hercules, five braccia high.[17] In the first is seen the hero strangling Antæus, the figure of Hercules is very fine, and the force employed by him in crushing his antagonist is

[17] The St. Christopher is in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and the Crucifixion with Sant' Antonino, once in San Marco, has disappeared; so have the three pictures painted for Lorenzo de' Medici, and containing each a figure of Hercules; so has the St. John Baptist of the Palace of the Signoria; but two very small pictures in the Uffizi are repetitions of the subjects mentioned by Vasari, namely, the Slaying of Antæus and of the Hydra. Sig. A. Venturi, *l'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, V., 208, publishes in fac-simile a letter from Ant. Pollajuolo to Gentile Virginio Orsini, mentioning the Labors of Hercules, painted by Antonio and Piero, in 1460, for Piero de' Medici, and also the monument to Sixtus IV. in St. Peter's. The fresco SS. John and Francis, in Santa Croce, formerly ascribed to Andrea dal Castagno, is now ascribed to Piero Pollajuolo. Milanesi cites a large picture of a Coronation of the Virgin, with saints about her, painted by Piero in 1483 for Sant' Agostino at San Gimignano, and now in the collegiate church there.

clearly apparent, every muscle and nerve of the body being strained to ensure the destruction of his opponent. The teeth, firmly set, are in perfect accord with the expression of the other parts of the figure, all of which, even to the points of the feet on which he raises himself, give manifest intimation of the efforts used. Nor is less care displayed in the figure of Antæus, who, pressed by the arms of Hercules, is seen to be sinking and deprived of all power of resistance, his mouth is open, he is breathing his last sigh. In the second figure, Hercules is killing the Lion ; he presses the left knee against the chest of the animal, whose jaws he has seized with both hands ; grinding his teeth and extending his arms, he tears the mouth open and rives the creature asunder by main force, although the lion defends himself with his claws and is fiercely tearing the arm of his assailant. The third picture, in which the hero is destroying the Hydra, is indeed an admirable work, more especially as regards the reptile, the colouring of which has so much animation and truth, that nothing more life-like could possibly be seen ; the venomous nature, the fire, the ferocity, and the rage of the monster are so effectually displayed, that the master merits the highest encomiums, and deserves to be imitated in this respect by all good artists.

For the brotherhood of Sant' Angelo in Arezzo, Antonio painted a banner in oil,[18] with a Crucifix on one side, and St. Michael in combat with the Dragon on the other. This is as beautiful a work as ever proceeded from his hand. St. Michael seizes the Serpent with boldness, and, grinding his teeth and knitting his brows, he seems in truth to be sent from heaven as the avenger of God against the pride of Lucifer ; the whole picture is, without doubt, a most admirable work. This master treated his nude figures in a manner which approaches more nearly to that of the moderns than was usual with the artists who had preceded him ; he dissected many human bodies to study the anatomy, and was the first who investigated the action of the muscles in this

[18] The banner of Sant' Angelo in Arezzo is lost.

manner, that he might afterwards give them their due place and effect in his works. Antonio engraved on copper a combat of these nude figures, all bound together by a chain,[19] and at a later period produced many other engravings, executed in a much better manner than had been exhibited by the masters who had preceded him in this branch of art.

Having rendered himself famous among artists, by all these works, Antonio was invited to Rome by Pope Innocent, on the death of Sixtus, his predecessor, and there he constructed a tomb in bronze for the first-mentioned pontiff. In this work[20] he portrayed Pope Innocent seated, and in the attitude of giving the benediction. Antonio likewise erected the sepulchral monument of Pope Sixtus, which was constructed at very great cost in the chapel called by the name of that pontiff.[21] The tomb is richly decorated and stands

[19] Not *all* bound together by a chain, but rather in couples. This is a forceful, though fanciful, presentation of the fierce duels in closed lists, "*a steccato chiuso*," in which the Pope delighted. For a long article on the drawings of the Pollajuoli, see Hermann Ulmann, *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, XV., p. 230. Milanesi, III., p. 287, note 3, says that the antiquary Dei saw, in 1756, in the Marzi-Medici palace, a whole book of Antonio's drawings, and suggests that it may have since passed into the hands of the Vettori family. There has been a famous controversy between M. Louis Courajod and Morelli as to whether a pen-and-ink design of an equestrian figure in the Munich collection, and probably intended for the monument of Francesco Sforza, is by Ant. Pollajuolo or Leonardo da Vinci.

[20] Both these monuments are of bronze; that of Innocent (1498) is placed high up against the wall.

[21] The tomb of Sixtus IV. (1489-1493) is in St. Peter's. M. Müntz, while admitting the originality of the design, declares that nothing could be less architectural than the monument of Sixtus or more completely show the goldsmith in contradistinction to the sculptor. He condemns the figures of the Virtues on the tomb of Innocent as "absolutely declamatory," while Perkins cites again the name that has been given to Antonio, of "the Bernini of the *Quattrocento*." In spite of their defects these two tombs are immensely striking from their originality and from the splendor of the bronze, in the casting of which Antonio was past master. The tomb of Sixtus especially, spread like a magnificent mortuary cloth of shining metal upon the pavement of the church, is not soon forgotten. This monument was removed in 1635 from the chapel of Pope Sixtus to that of the choir. A portion of the tomb of Innocent was gilded, as were indeed very many monuments of the time. The artist and bronze-caster were frequently separated, but not in the case of Antonio.

entirely isolated : the figure of Sixtus, very finely executed, is extended upon it. The monument of Pope Innocent was placed in the church of San Pietro, near the chapel in which the lance of Christ[22] is preserved. It is said that the same artist designed the Palace of the Belvedere for the above-named Pope Innocent, although the fabric was erected by others, Antonio not having much experience in building.[23] Finally, these brothers, having enriched themselves by their labours, died at a short distance of time, one after the other, in the year 1498 ;[24] they were buried by their kindred in San Pietro in Vincula, where a monument was raised to their memory near the middle door, and on the left as you enter the church. This consisted of the portraits of both brothers on two medallions in marble, with the following epitaph :—

Antonius Pullarius patria Florentinus pictor insignis, qui dour. pont. Xisti et Innocentii, acrea * *moniment. miro opiic.*† *expressit, re famil. composita ex test. hic se cum Petro fratre condi voluit.*

Vixit An. LXXII. *Obiit An. Sal.* M. IID.

Antonio also executed a basso-rilievo in bronze, which was sent to Spain, but of which a cast in plaster may be seen in the possession of the Florentine artists. The subject is a combat of nude figures ; and after his death there were found the design and model for an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, which the master had made for Ludovico Sforza. This we have in our book depicted in two different manners. In one he has the city of Verona beneath him ; in the other he is in full armour on a pedestal covered with battle-pieces, and is forcing his horse to leap on an armed man beneath it. The reason why this design was not carried into execution I have not been able

* *Aerea* in the Milanesi edition.

† *Opific* in Milanesi edition.

[22] The so-called spear of Longinus, with which he pierced the side of Christ.

[23] M. Müntz says that although Pollajuolo very probably had some hand in this building, documents mention only Giacomo da Pietramala.

[24] Antonio died February 4, 1498. Piero was still living at that time.

to discover.[25] There are, moreover, several beautiful medals by Antonio ; among others one representing the conspiracy of the Pazzi. The heads of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici are on the one side, and on the reverse is the Choir of Santa Maria del Fiore, with the whole of that event exactly as it occurred.[26] There are medals of various Popes also by the same master, with many other things which are well known to artists.

Antonio was seventy-two years old when he died, and Pietro died at the age of sixty-five.[27] The former left many disciples, among whom was Andrea Sansovino. Antonio was a most fortunate man and led a very happy life, having met with rich pontiffs, and living when his native city was at the summit of prosperity and remarkable for its love of talent, wherefore he was highly esteemed ; but had he lived in less favourable times he might not have produced the rich fruits which we derive from his labours, for the cares of life are deadly enemies to the acquirement of such knowledge as is necessary to him who delights in and makes profession of the fine arts.

For San Giovanni in Florence there were made certain very rich ecclesiastical vestments[28] after the design of this master, two Dalmaticas namely, a Planeta or Chasuble, and a Pluviale or Cope, all of double brocade, each woven of one entire piece and without seam, the bordering and ornaments being stories from the life of St. John, embroidered with the most subtle mastery of that art by Paolo da Verona, a man most eminent in his calling, and of incomparable in-

[25] Benvenuto Cellini praises Antonio, especially as a draughtsman.

[26] The medal has a head of Giuliano de' Medici on one side, with the inscription *Iuliano Medices* and *Luctus publicus*. A head of Lorenzo is on the other side, with the inscription *Laurentius Medices* and *Salus publica*. The choir of the church is represented on both sides of the medal. Herr J. Friedländer doubts if Pollajuolo ever executed medals. See *Antonio Pollaiolo : Die Italienischen Schaumünzen der Fünfzehnten Jahreszeit, Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, III., 29.

[27] Sixty-nine and fifty-three, rather.

[28] Portions of these vestments are still preserved in the museum of the Opera del Duomo.

genuity: the figures are no less ably executed with the needle than they would have been if Antonio had painted them with the pencil; and for this we are largely indebted to the one master for his design, as well as to the other for his patience in embroidering it.[29] [30] This work required

[29] The portrait of Antonio Pollajuolo is in Filippino's fresco of S. Paul before the Proconsul in the Brancacci chapel. Medallions of the two brothers are in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, where they are buried.

[30] Critics have decided that, on the whole, the Pollajuoli were not great artists; but the brothers, especially Antonio, were important contributors to the Renaissance movement in the direction of anatomical study. Perkins accuses him of "absence of imagination" and "affectation of originality;" Symonds of "almost brutal energy and bizarre realism;" M. Müntz finds that in his picture of St. Sebastian every one of the qualities which make up the Renaissance harmony, rhythm, beauty, "is outrageously violated;" M. Lafenestre says that he is frank even to brutality, vigorous even to ferocity; but adds that his strange art "impresses by its virility," while each of these critics admits and praises his enthusiasm for anatomy. In short, the personality of these artists, especially that of the elder, is marked and vivid, and the bronze tomb of Pope Sixtus, and the bust of a *Condottiere*, make too strong an impression to be wholly "affected in their originality." It was in the hands of craftsmen like the Pollajuoli, trained in the goldsmith's shop, familiar with the processes of sculpture, accustomed to work in the round, to handle an actual substance, that Florentine painting ceased to reproduce the boneless, flat images of the *Giotteschi* and strove to represent the actual appearances of things. The desire for exact presentation led naturally to the study of perspective, anatomy, and the nude. Art ceased to be symbolical and became scientific; to its age of faith succeeded an age of inquiry, when the spirit of investigation conquered the force of tradition. To men like the Pollajuoli, an altar-piece or a fresco was simply a means of displaying the structure of a certain number of human bodies, a pretext for applying their recently and painfully acquired knowledge, an opportunity for an exhibition of correctly drawn attachments and well-indicated muscles, on which the trained eye of the goldsmith or sculptor would linger with pleasure. It made no difference to them if the subject was unlovely, the color hard or cold, the movement exaggerated, the forms coarse; construction was what interested them, and as over-developed muscles, strained tendons, and violent action render the construction of the body more apparent, they were sought and recorded with strict veracity. As in all methods of scientific investigation, careful observation of facts and a faithful record of them were the first requirements, and to refine or ennoble the model would have seemed to them not only an artistic infidelity, but an incomprehensible blunder. "Man to the artists of this epoch was as yet only a form." This feeling for construction, this preoccupation with the real substance of objects, marks a certain stage of development not only in the evolution of a healthy and vital art, but in the individual artist as well. The processes of selection, elimination, gen-

twenty-six years for its completion, being wholly in the close stitch, which, to say nothing of its durability, makes the work appear as if it were a real picture limned with the pencil; but the excellent method of which is now all but lost, the custom in these days being to make the stitches much longer, whereby the work is rendered less durable and much less pleasing of the eye.

eralization, and the result of these processes which we have agreed to term idealization, are developed later and are the result of the knowledge acquired during this period of research. Antonio Pollajuolo, with his fierce energy and virile science, was a pioneer clearing the way for the artists of wider knowledge and of serener strength who were to follow in the paths he helped to find.

SANDRO BOTTICELLI, FLORENTINE PAINTER[1]

[Born 1447; died 1510.]

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IN the same time with the illustrious Lorenzo de' Medici the elder, which was truly an age of gold for men of talent, there flourished a certain Alessandro, called after our custom Sandro, and further named Di Botticello, for a reason which we shall presently see. His father, Mariano Filipepi, a Florentine citizen, brought him up with care,

[1] Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi, called Botticelli, was born in 1447. His father was a tanner.

and caused him to be instructed in all such things as are usually taught to children before they choose a calling. But although the boy readily acquired whatever he wished to learn, yet was he constantly discontented; neither would he take any pleasure in reading,[2] writing, or accounts, insomuch that the father, disturbed by the eccentric habits of his son, turned him over in despair to a gossip of his,[3] called Botticello, who was a goldsmith, and considered a very competent master of his art, to the intent that the boy might learn the same.

There was at that time a close connexion and almost constant intercourse between the goldsmiths and the painters, wherefore Sandro, who possessed considerable ingenuity, and was strongly disposed to the arts of design, became enamoured of painting, and resolved to devote himself entirely to that vocation. He acknowledged his purpose at once to his father, and the latter, who knew the force of his inclinations, took him accordingly to the Carmelite monk, Fra Filippo, who was a most excellent painter of that time, with whom he placed him to study the art, as Sandro himself had desired.

Devoting himself thereupon entirely to the vocation he had chosen, Sandro so closely followed the directions and imitated the manner of his master, that Fra Filippo conceived a great love for him, and instructed him so effectually, that Sandro rapidly attained to such a degree in art as none would have predicted for him. While still a youth he painted the figure of Fortitude,[4] among those pictures of the Virtues which Antonio and Pietro Pollaiuolo were executing in the Mercatanzia, or Tribunal of Commerce in

[2] Botticelli's selection of subjects, and his subtle rendering of them prove however that he was something of a scholar.

[3] Sandro's brother, Giovanni, was called Botticello, but it does not appear that there was any goldsmith in Florence named Botticelli.

[4] Now in the Uffizi; it is considered a doubtful picture. Mr. J. A. Crowe (*Sandro Botticelli*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1886) is convinced that after the death of Filippo Lippi, Sandro studied with, or at least learned from, the Pollajuoli.

Florence. In Santo Spirito, a church of the same city, he painted a picture[5] for the chapel of the Bardi family: this work he executed with great diligence, and finished it very successfully, depicting certain olive and palm-trees therein with extraordinary care. Sandro also painted a picture[6] in the Convent of the Convertites, with another for the nuns of San Barnaba.[7] In the Church of Ognissanti he painted a Sant' Agostino, in fresco,[8] for the Vespucci: this is in the middle aisle, near the door which leads into the choir; and here Sandro did his utmost to surpass all the masters who were painting at the time, but more particularly Domenico del Ghirlandajo, who had painted a figure of St. Jerome on the opposite side. Sparing no pains, he thus produced a work of extraordinary merit. In the countenance of the Saint he has clearly manifested that power of thought and acuteness of perception which is, for the most part, perceptible in those reflective and studious men who are constantly occupied with the investigation of exalted subjects and the pursuit of abstruse inquiries. This picture, as we have said in the life of Domenico Ghirlandajo, has this year (1561) been removed entire and without injury from the place where it was executed.

Having, in consequence of this work, obtained much credit and reputation, Sandro was appointed by the Guild of Porta Santa Maria to paint a picture in San Marco, the subject of which is the Coronation of Our Lady,[9] who is

[5] Believed to be the following picture in the Berlin gallery: A Virgin and Child, with Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist, in a grove of palms and olives. This gallery is rich in examples of Botticelli.

[6] The fate of this picture is unknown.

[7] This picture, which is in the Florentine Academy, represents the Madonna enthroned, holding the Divine Child, with two angels on either side, and about the throne Saints Barnabas, Augustine (?), Catharine of Alexandria, John, Ambrose, and Michael. The upper part of the picture is a modern addition by Veracini.

[8] This picture, executed in 1480, is still in the church.

[9] This famous "*Incoronata*," which has perhaps been more popularized by reproduction than any other work of Botticelli's, is in the Florentine Academy; it is a *tondo*, on panel.

surrounded by a choir of angels, the whole extremely well designed, and finished by the artist with infinite care. He executed various works in the Medici Palace for the elder Lorenzo, more particularly a figure of Pallas [10] on a shield wreathed with vine branches, whence flames are proceeding: this he painted of the size of life. A San Sebastiano was also among the most remarkable of the works executed for Lorenzo.[11] In the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, in

[10] The discovery of a large picture by Botticelli, representing Pallas with a Centaur, has been one of the recent artistic sensations of Florence. The existence of such a picture in the Pitti collection was known up to 1853, and the work had been engraved by Frassinetti, 1837–42, in *La Galleria Pitti Illustrata* (see also a reproduction of such an engraving in M. Yriarte's *Florence*, 1881). In 1856, upon the occasion of the marriage of the Archduke Ferdinand of Lorraine, certain rooms of the Pitti galleries being required as apartments, their pictures were dispersed through many different parts of the palace. Among these pictures was the Pallas, which, hung high in the apartments of the Duke of Aosta, was wholly forgotten and passed unnoticed for many years, until it was recently seen and noted by Mr. Spence, the English painter. That a famous picture should have completely disappeared from notice, and yet should have been hanging upon a wall within a few yards of the other paintings (or at all events only a few rooms removed), shows how easily temporary loss of even large and important works may come about, and is a whole sermon in favor of careful research in the unused rooms and storehouses of the monasteries and palaces of Italy. The question of the identity of Botticelli's Pallas has long been a mooted one. Several critics have even attempted a reconstruction of it. Signor Ridolfi believes that this Pallas of Vasari has at last come to light, and thinks that the author's mention of burning branches was merely a careless error. Mr. Bernard Berenson disagrees with him, and thinks that the fact that Vasari omitted the Centaur and mentioned the branches is enough to prove that this picture is not identical with that described in the life of Sandro Botticelli. The subject of the newly found painting is referred to Lorenzo's return to Florence after his pacificatory visit to Naples, as suggesting the triumph of mind over matter, of Lorenzo over the League. For details and reproductions see E. Ridolfi, in *La Nazione*, XXXVII., No. 61, and in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte;* Hermann Ulmann, in the *Kunst Chronik*, 21, 1895; Bernard Berenson, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, June, 1895; W. A. Coffin, in Harper's Weekly, April 13, 1895. Mr. Berenson, using the Pallas as a basis for consideration of dates, assigns Botticelli's *Primavera* to the year 1478, and the Birth of Venus to the spring of 1482, and the Villa Lemmi frescoes to a somewhat later date.

[11] A Saint Sebastian, painted for S. Maria Maggiore in 1473, is the earliest recorded work of Botticelli (see Cavalcaselle e Crowe, *Storia della Pittura*, Vol. VI., p. 208). These authors believe that the picture may have been

Florence, is a Pietà with small figures by this master ;[12] this is placed beside the chapel of the Panciatichi, and is a very beautiful work. For different houses in various parts of the city Sandro painted many pictures of a round form, with numerous figures of women undraped. Of these there are still two examples at Castello, a villa of the Duke Cosimo, one representing the birth of Venus,[13] who is borne to earth by the Loves and Zephyrs : the second also presenting the figure of Venus crowned with flowers by the Graces ;[14] she

ordered by Lorenzo for Santa Maria, and that it may be identified with the Saint Sebastian which is in the Berlin Museum, and is there ascribed to Antonio del Pollajuolo.

[12] Said to be the *Pietà* in the Pinacothek of Munich, Milanesi, III., p. 312, note 3.

[13] The Birth of Venus is in the Uffizi. Sandro's mythological pictures, among which this is probably second in note, are those upon which he has most completely stamped his personality, and which by their strange fascination, their indeterminate character, half-Renaissance, half-Mediæval, and wholly Botticellian, have at once puzzled and charmed the critics, and inspired a whole school of imitators, until the intrinsically very real and great importance of their author in the history of Italian Art has been exaggerated.

[14] This very famous picture, called *La Primavera* (Spring-time), is in the Academy of Florence. (Mr. Bernard Berenson dates it as of the year 1478.) The subject was probably suggested by Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura, lib.* V. Many explanations have been given of the exact meaning of the picture ; one that it is a complicated philosophical allegory ; another that it is a Judgment of Paris ; still another that the central figure represents the goddess Venus in the person of some member of the Medici family, and that the other figures symbolize virtues attributed to her or to her people. The style and character of this picture are so subtle and fascinating as to have made it perhaps the most famous and the central work in Botticelli's achievement. Technically the drawing is exquisitely delicate, the color soft and grayish, much toned, and even dulled, by time. The composition of lines is admirable, but like so many Florentine works of the fifteenth century the *Primavera* can hardly be said to have any color composition at all, the carmine drapery (with whitish lights) upon the central figure and upon the Mercury at the extreme left being much the strongest points of color, and confusing and breaking up the composition. The Graces are all in a golden ochre tone, the shadows little darker than the lights. All of the right-hand part of the picture is grayer than the rest, and the figures there are more "enveloped." The flowers and grass which have been so greatly praised are decorative, lovely and delicate in drawing, but very much cut out ; the sprigs upon the *Primavera's* gown are hard as metal, while the stem drawing of the flowers in the grass makes a raised pattern like that upon embossed leather. Mr. W. J. Stillman, in the Century Magazine, August, 1890, p. 503, calls attention to the

is here intended to denote the Spring, and the allegory is expressed by the painter with extraordinary grace.

In the Via de Servi and in the Palace of Giovanni Vespucci, which now belongs to Piero Salviati, this master painted numerous pictures around one of the chambers: they are enclosed within a richly decorated frame-work of walnut wood, and contain many beautiful and animated figures.[15] In Casa Pucci,[16] likewise, Sandro painted Boccaccio's Novella of Nastagio degli Onesti, in four compartments; the figures are small, but the work is very graceful and beautiful. He also depicted an Adoration of the Magi* in the same place.[17] For the Monks of Cestello this master

fact that notwithstanding the profusion of flowers in this picture the anemone, which is so abundant around Florence, is missing.

* The translator has here omitted a few words. The original reads, "He painted a round picture of the Adoration of the Magi," "*ed in un tondo, l'Epifania.*"

[15] These pictures no longer exist. Morelli (Italian Painters) rejects as not genuine the Coronation of Mary in the school of *La Quiete* and formerly in San Jacopo di Ripoli. This picture was formerly attributed to Domenico Ghirlandajo. From the resemblance of the *technique* to the painting representing the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi, Sigg. Cavalcaselle and Crowe class it among the works of Botticelli's youth. See *Storia della Pittura in Italia*, VI., p. 272.

[16] These are pictures "painted rather hastily" in 1487 for the marriage of Pier Francesco Bini; they have been in various private collections of London. The Miracles of San Zanobi, two youthful works of Botticelli, as well as certain other works, are in English private collections, while a Death of Virginia was left to the town of Bergamo by Senator Morelli. Botticelli's subjects of this class are interesting and characteristic of the master; they suggest the Calumny of the Uffizi, and not infrequently, in spite of their beauty, exhibit somewhat of that "harsh and sprawling composition" which had been noted by a German critic. Nowhere outside of Italy may so many pictures of the fifteenth-century masters be seen as in England, in the annual exhibitions of works from the galleries of private collectors. For some of these see the English reviews, and articles in the *Archivio Storico*, by Mr. Claude Phillips and by Costanza Jocelyn Ffoulkes.

[17] Milanesi cannot account for this picture, and believes that Vasari may have confounded it with some other *tondo*. Mr. Bernard Berenson appears as an admirable critic of Botticelli in his Florentine Painters of the Renaissance, saying that no artist has been "so indifferent to representation, so intent upon presentation." In emphasizing Sandro's instinctively decorative use not only of other material—flowers, flames, draperies—that yield themselves readily to such purpose, but especially of the human body, he says, with a felicitous phraseology which must be followed in his book to be under-

painted [18] a picture of the Annunciation in one of their chapels, and in the church of San Pietro he executed one for Matteo Palmieri, with a very large number of figures.[19] The subject of this work, which is near the side-door, is the Assumption of Our Lady, and the zones or circles of heaven are there painted in their order. The Patriarchs,

stood in its full development, that Botticelli translates "tactile values" into "pure values of movement," and becomes unrivalled in the art of "lineal decoration." In this appreciation of Botticelli's intense preoccupation with the decorative suggestion of movement, Mr. Berenson's essay is a real contribution to the critical literature of art. Vernon Lee (Miss Paget) has said picturesquely and forcefully in her Fancies and Studies in the Renaissance that Botticelli "uses the human form as so much pattern element" in "his strange arabesque, half-intellectual, half-physical." Among works not mentioned by Vasari and credited to Botticelli in Mr. Berenson's catalogue are three in Bergamo, Giuliano de' Medici, Head of Christ, Story of Virginia; Boston, collection of Mrs. Gardner, Death of Lucretia; Dresden, Life of San Zanobi; London, a portrait of a man, Mars and Venus, two pictures of the Adoration of the Magi, scenes from the Life of San Zanobi, in the Mond Collection; in Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli Collection, Madonna, Ambrosiana, Madonna with Angels; in St. Petersburg, an Adoration of the Magi.

[18] Morelli says this Annunciation in the Uffizi is painted by a pupil of Botticelli from his master's sketch, but M. Lafenestre admits the attribution to Sandro, and Mr. J. A. Crowe, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Vol. XXXIV., seems also to do so. It is a well-known picture, with strong characteristics of the master's school. Dr. Bode and Dr. W. Schmidt attribute to Botticelli a small portrait in the Uffizi of a man holding a medal of Cosimo the Ancient. This portrait, called Pico della Mirandola, really represents Piero de' Medici (the younger). See M. P. Valton, *Chronique des Arts*, 1888, p. 324.

[19] Now in the National Gallery, London. Matteo Palmieri, who ordered this picture from Botticelli, was author of a poem called "The City of Life," and which touched upon that heresy of Origen which holds that man is descended from an incarnation of those angels who remained neutral when Lucifer rebelled against God. For a long time this "heretical" picture was veiled and its altar was interdicted. (See Richa, *Chiese Fiorentine*, E. T. Cook, Handbook to the National Gallery, and Walter Pater's Renaissance, article Botticelli, for a mystical appreciation of the subject.) There is also in the National Gallery, London, a Nativity, with an inscription in Greek at the top which says: "This picture, I, Alexander, painted at the end of the year 1500, in the troubles of Italy, in the half-time after the time during the fulfilment of the eleventh of St. John, in the second woe of the Apocalypse, in the loosing of the devil for three years and a half. Afterward he shall be chained, and we shall see him trodden down as in this picture." The reference is, of course, to the martyrdom of Savonarola. The angels welcome Savonarola and Domenico Buonvicini, of Pescia, and Silvestro Maruffi, the two priests who were burned with Savonarola.

the Prophets, the Apostles, the Evangelists, the Martyrs, the Confessors, the Doctors, the Virgins, and the Hierarchies : all which was executed by Sandro according to the design furnished to him by Matteo, who was a very learned and able man. The whole work was conducted and finished with the most admirable skill and care : at the foot of it was the portrait of Matteo kneeling, with that of his wife. But although this picture is exceedingly beautiful and ought to have put envy to shame, yet there were found certain malevolent and censorious persons who, not being able to affix any other blame to the work, declared that Matteo and Sandro had erred gravely in that matter, and had fallen into grievous heresy.

Now, whether this be true or not, let none expect the judgment of that question from me : it shall suffice me to note that the figures executed by Sandro in that work are entirely worthy of praise, and that the pains he took in depicting those circles of the heavens must have been very great, to say nothing of the angels mingled with the other figures, or of the various foreshortenings, all which are designed in a very good manner. About this time Sandro received a commission to paint a small picture with figures three parts of a braccio high, the subject an Adoration of the Magi ;[20] the work was placed between the two doors of the principal façade of Santa Maria Novella, and is on the left as you enter by the central door. In the face of the oldest of the kings, the one who first approaches, there is the most lively expression of tenderness as he kisses the foot of the Saviour, and a look of satisfaction also at having attained the purpose for which he had undertaken his long journey. This figure is the portrait of Cosimo de' Medici,

[20] This work is in the Uffizi. It was identified by Carlo Pini with the picture described by Vasari. It was formerly attributed to Domenico Ghirlandajo, but is one of Botticelli's finest works. The strong family resemblance of the Medici is seen in the faces of nearly all of these admirably striking figures; indeed this is the only picture in which Botticelli seems to have really painted portraits. A man who at one side of the picture turns almost fully toward the spectator is said to be a portrait of the painter himself.

the most faithful and animated likeness of all now known to exist of him. The second of the kings is the portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, father of Pope Clement VII.; and he offers adoration to the divine Child, presenting his gift at the same time, with an expression of the most devout sincerity. The third, who is likewise kneeling, seems to be offering thanksgiving as well as adoration, and to confess that Christ is indeed the true Messiah: this is the likeness of Giovanni, the son of Cosimo. The beauty which Sandro has imparted to these heads cannot be adequately described, and all the figures in the work are represented in different attitudes: of some one sees the full face, of others the profile, some are turning the head almost entirely from the spectator, others are bent down; and to all, the artist has given an appropriate and varied expression, whether old or young, exhibiting numerous peculiarities also, which prove the mastery that he possessed over his art. He has even distinguished the followers of each king in such a manner that it is easy to see which belongs to one court and which to another; it is indeed a most admirable work: the composition, the design, and the colouring are so beautiful that every artist who examines it is astonished, and at the time, it obtained so great a name in Florence and other places for the master, that Pope Sixtus IV., having erected the chapel built by him in his palace at Rome, and desiring to have it adorned with paintings, commanded that Sandro Botticelli should be appointed Superintendent of the work. He accordingly executed various pictures there;[21] among them

[21] Botticelli's frescoes, painted in 1481, in the Sistine Chapel, still remain. They represent the stories of Moses, of Christ in the Wilderness, and of the Destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The composition is confused, and is awkward in the distribution of the masses, but the frescoes are episodically charming, and in spite of faults they give at least as full a measure of Botticelli's power as do his much more famous easel pictures. The fact is that the very noble series of wall-paintings in the Sistine Chapel is but little noticed because of the superlative interest of the works of Michelangelo in the vaulting. Sig. D. Gnoli, in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VI., March–April, 1893, p. 128, publishes a document showing that Rosselli, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, and Perugino contracted "to furnish ten stories" between Oc-

the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness, Moses slaying the Egyptian, Moses receiving drink from the Daughters of Jethro the Midianite, and the Descent of Fire from Heaven when the Sons of Aaron offered Sacrifice; with several figures of holy Popes, in the niches above the paintings.[22] By these works Botticelli obtained great honour and reputation among the many competitors who were labouring with him, whether Florentines or natives of other cities, and received from the Pope a considerable sum of money; but this he consumed and squandered totally, during his residence in Rome, where he lived without due care, as was his habit.[23] Having completed the work assigned to him, he returned at once to Florence, where, being whimsical and eccentric, he occupied himself with commenting on a certain part of Dante, illustrating the *Inferno*, and executing prints, over which he wasted much time, and, neglecting his proper occupation, he did no work, and thereby caused infinite disorder in his affairs.[24] He likewise en-

tober 27, 1481, and the 15th of the following March. Two stories from the total number are left unmentioned in the contract, as is also the name of Signorelli.

[22] There are twenty-eight portraits of popes, most of which are attributed to Botticelli.

[23] It is probable that Botticelli remained in Rome until 1484. If he received a commission to paint a hall in the Palazzo Pubblico of Florence in 1482, together with Domenico Ghirlandajo, it is doubtful whether he accepted it. See Gaye's *Carteggio*, I., *Appendice*, II., 578. According to J. A. Crowe, *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1885, Sandro and Ghirlandajo were, in 1491, together commissioned to decorate with mosaic the chapel of San Zenobio in S. M. del Fiore.

[24] The Hamilton volume of illustrations to the Divine Comedy, now in the Berlin Museum, before it was taken to pieces was a folio of eighty-six leaves of fine parchment, most of them thirty-two *centimètres* high and forty-seven wide. The illustrations commence with *canto* seventh; there are eighty-four designs in all, while eight others are said to be in the Vatican. One of them is painted in *gouache*, in sombre colors; it belongs to the eighteenth *canto* of the *Inferno*. These designs have been removed from the book and placed under glass. Milanesi has discovered, in an anonymous manuscript of the National Library of Florence, that Botticelli illustrated a Dante on parchment for Lorenzo di Piero Francesco de' Medici. This Lorenzo (who lived about 1460–1503) was grand-nephew of Cosimo the elder. The first printed Florentine edition of the Divine Comedy was Christoforo Landino's

graved many of the designs he had executed, but in a very inferior manner, the work being badly cut. The best attempt of this kind from his hand is the Triumph of Faith,[25] by Fra Girolamo Savonarola, of Ferrara, of whose sect our artist was so zealous a partizan that he totally abandoned painting, and not having any other means of living, he fell into very great difficulties. But his attachment to the party he had adopted increased ; he became what was then called a *Piagnone*,[26] and abandoned all labour, insomuch that, finding himself at length become old, being also very poor, he must have died of hunger[27] had he not been

commentary, issued by "Nicholo di Lorenzo della Magna, 1481 ;" the different copies of it contain variously from twenty-one engravings down to two ; these have, on the strength of Vasari's assertion, been ascribed to Baccio Baldini. The engravings are evidently from the parchment originals of the Hamilton collection, but the engraver has been forced by the size and shape of the book to change and simplify the designs, in one case reducing the number of personages from forty-one to twelve. M. Ch. Ephrussi, after careful study of these Hamilton illustrations of the Divine Comedy, expresses some disappointment, and is inclined to believe that we have in them not a finished work, but only a preparatory one; a work carried certainly beyond the limits of annotation, but one far from completion. He bases this belief on the empty spaces left upon so many of the pages, upon the slightness of the handling, the absence of perspective, the appearance of haste seen in what are really sketches. There is a single miniature in the collection, and this would furnish a very reasonable solution if we consider that the other drawings were studies intended for eventual development into such miniatures. (See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Vol. XXXI., p. 404; Vol. XXXII., p. 48.) It has also been suggested that, on the contrary, Botticelli having tried color, gave it up and decided to leave the designs in black and white.

[25] According to Professor Sidney Colvin (Article "Botticelli," Encyclopædia Britannica) this engraving no longer exists. He adds that many early Florentine engravings have, upon pure surmise based on passages of Vasari, been attributed to Botticelli and Baccio Baldini.

[26] Weepers, mourners, or grumblers. See Gustave Gruyer's *Les Illustrations des Écrits de Jérome Savonarole*, Paris, 1879.

[27] This is without doubt an exaggeration. Mr. J. A. Crowe says that as in 1498 Botticelli owned a "lordly villa" outside the San Friano gate, it is difficult to believe him so poor. He suggests that he may have been unfortunate either from sickness, or possibly from persecution as a follower of Savonarola. His father was rich enough to buy a family tomb in the Ognissanti. One may add that by the end of the fifteenth century Florentine taste was setting in the direction of the new school, and it is possible that the relative neglect of the older artists at the hands of the public may have become tra-

supported by Lorenzo de' Medici, for whom he had worked at the small hospital * of Volterra [28] and other places, who assisted him while he lived, as did other friends and admirers of his talents.

In San Francesco, outside the gate of San Miniato, Botticelli painted a Madonna,† the size of life, surrounded by angels, which was considered a very beautiful picture.[29] Now Sandro was fond of jesting, and often amused himself at the expense of his disciples and friends. In allusion to this habit, it is related that one of his scholars, named Biagio,[30] had copied the above-mentioned picture very exactly, for the purpose of selling it: this Sandro did for him, having bargained with a citizen for six gold florins. When Biagio appeared, therefore, his master said to him, "Well, Biagio, I've sold thy picture for thee at last, but the buyer wishes to see it in a good light, so it must be hung up this evening at a favourable height, and do thou go to the man's house to-morrow morning and bring him here, that he may see it in its place; he will then pay thee the money." "Oh, master," quoth Biagio, "how well you have done;" and having suspended the picture at the due height, he went his way. Thereupon Sandro and Jacopo, who was another of his disciples, prepared eight caps of pasteboard, such as those worn by the Florentine citizens, and these they fixed

ditional, and have been exaggerated into the idea that they suffered from actual want.

* Mrs. Foster's translation of *Lo Spedaletto* "small hospital," though literal, is probably not a satisfactory rendering, the name *Lo Spedaletto* being frequently found in Italy as applied to houses or villages, and in such cases often indicating only the existence there of a hospital at remote times.

† Here again the translator has omitted the words "*in un tondo.*" The round picture became as popular toward the end of the fifteenth century as the triptych had been during the fourteenth century.

[28] The grange of Lo Spedaletto, near Volterra, in which Vasari says Botticelli worked, still exists as a private house, and is in the possession of members of the Corsini family.

[29] This work is lost. The *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1886, noted an exceptionally fine Madonna and Child, by Botticelli, as in the collection of Lord Wemyss, in England. It is in the second manner of the artist.

[30] Probably Biagio d'Antonio Tucci, 1446–1515.

with white wax on the heads of the eight angels, who, in the painting in question, were depicted around the Madonna. The morning being come, Biagio appears with the citizen who had bought the painting, and who was aware of the jest. Raising his eyes on entering the workshop, Blaise beholds his Madonna, not surrounded by angels, but in the midst of the Signoria of Florence, and seated among those caps. He was about to break forth into outcries and excuse himself to the citizen, but as the latter made no observation on the circumstance, and began to praise the picture, he remained silent himself. Ultimately, the citizen took him home to his house and paid him the six florins, which the master had bargained for, wherewith Biagio returned to the bottega (workshop), where he arrived just as Sandro and Jacopo had taken off the pasteboard head-dresses, and saw his angels as veritable angels again, and no longer citizens in their caps. Altogether astonished at what he beheld, the disciple turned to his master and said, "Master mine, I know not whether I am dreaming, or whether the thing be really so, but when I came in just now, these angels had red caps on their heads, and now they have none! What may this mean?" "Thou art out of thy wits, Blaise," quoth Sandro, "this money hath made thy brain turn round; if the thing were as thou hast said, dost thou think this citizen would have bought thy picture?" "That is true," replied Biagio, "and he certainly said nothing about it, but for all that it seems a very strange matter." At last, all the other scholars getting round him, said so much that they made him believe the whole an imagination of his own.

A weaver of cloth once came to live close to Sandro, and this man erected full eight looms, which, when all were at work, not only caused an intolerable din with the trampling of the weavers and the clang of the shuttles, insomuch that poor Sandro was deafened with it, but likewise produced such a trembling and shaking throughout the house, which was none too solidly built, that the painter, what with one and the other, could no more continue his work, nor even

remain in the house. He had frequently requested his neighbour to put an end to this disturbance, but the latter had replied, that he both could and would do what he pleased in his own house. Being angered by this, Sandro had an enormous mass of stone of great weight, and more than would fill a waggon, placed in exact equilibrium on the wall of his own dwelling, which was higher than that of his neighbour, and not a very strong one ; this stone threatened to fall at the slightest shake given to the wall, when it must have crushed the roof, floors, frames, and workmen, of the weaver to atoms. The man, terrified at the danger, hastened to Sandro, from whom he received back his own reply in his own words, namely, that he both could and would do what he pleased in his own house ; whereupon, not being able to obtain any other answer, he was compelled to come to reasonable terms, and to make the painter a less troublesome neighbour.

We find it further related, that Sandro Botticelli once went to the vicar of his parish, and, in jest, accused a friend of his own of heresy. The person inculpated having appeared, demanded to know by whom he was accused and of what. Being told that Sandro had declared him to hold the opinion of the Epicureans, to wit, that the soul dies with the body, he required that his accuser should be confronted with him before the judge. Sandro was summoned accordingly, when the accused man exclaimed, "It is true that I hold the opinion stated respecting the soul of this man, who is a blockhead ; nay, does he not appear to you to be a heretic also ; for, without a grain of learning, scarcely knowing how to read, has he not undertaken to make a commentary on Dante, and does he not take his name in vain ?"

This master is said to have had an extraordinary love for those whom he knew to be zealous students in art, and is affirmed to have gained considerable sums of money ; but being a bad manager and very careless, all came to nothing. Finally, having become old, unfit for work, and helpless, he was obliged to go on crutches, being unable to stand upright,

and so died, after long illness and decrepitude, in his seventy-eighth year.[31] He was buried at Florence, in the church of Ognissanti, in the year 1515.

In the *Guardaroba* of the Signor Duke Cosimo are two very beautiful female heads in profile by this master, one is said to be the portrait of an *inamorata*[32] of Giuliano de Medici, brother of Lorenzo ; the other that of Madonna Lucrezia Tornabuoni, Lorenzo's wife.[33] In the same place, and also by the hand of Sandro, is a Bacchus, raising a wine-flask to his lips with both hands, a truly animated figure.[34] In

[31] He died on May 17, 1510, aged sixty-three or sixty-four years, according as the date 1446 or 1447 be accepted as the year of his birth. It is doubtful if he died in such poverty as Vasari would have us believe in, since his family was able to put up a tomb in the Ognissanti church in the year of his death.

[32] Simonetta Cattani, a Genoese, married to a Vespucci, of Florence, was beloved by Giuliano de' Medici, who held a famous joust in her honor. (See notes to the Life of Verrocchio.) There are three so-called portraits of her, one in the Pitti, one in Berlin, one at Chantilly. These three hardly resemble each other at all, and the Chantilly portrait, inscribed "*Simonetta Januensis Vespuccia*," is generally considered to be the only genuine one. Dr. Frizzoni, however, gives it to Piero di Cosimo, and believes it to be the Cleopatra mentioned by Vasari in the life of that artist.

[33] Lucrezia Tornabuoni was Lorenzo's mother ; his wife was Clarice Orsini, a Roman. The Berlin gallery claims to possess this portrait, which bears some resemblance to the Simonetta (so-called) in the Pitti. There is a lovely portrait of a young girl in the museum of Frankfort-on-the-Main, which is ascribed to Botticelli. Mr. J. A. Crowe, while admitting that the Lucrezia and the Chantilly Simonetta greatly resemble the manner of Botticelli, is not wholly prepared to consider either picture authentic. Dr. Bode, in *Die Graphischen Künste*, 1892, says that a portrait of a man by Botticelli in the collection of Prince Liechtenstein, at Vienna, is finer than any portrait attributed to Sandro in Italy, though in the opinion of the author it is equalled by two heads of women, one in the Ionides collection of London, the other in that of Mrs. Seymour. The well-known Giuliano de' Medici left by Morelli to the town of Bergamo has all of the Medici portrait characteristics, seen also in the heads of the members of that famous family, with which Botticelli has filled his Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi. Sandro, however, was not a portrait-painter by inclination ; he saw all faces through the medium of his own strong personality, and M. Müntz has well said that his "was essentially a lyrical temperament and unfitted to deal with portraiture."

[34] This work is lost. Vasari does not mention the two frescoes which were acquired for the Louvre in 1882 ; they came from the Villa Lemmi, near Florence, and were painted on the occasion of the marriage of Lorenzo Albizzi with Giovanna Tornabuoni. She is represented with the Graces or Virtues,

the cathedral of Pisa was an Assumption of the Virgin, with a Choir of Angels, commenced by Botticelli for the chapel of the Impagliata, but the work not pleasing him, he left it unfinished.[35] He also painted the picture of the high altar in the church of San Francesco, at Montevarchi;[36] and in the capitular church of Empoli he depicted two Angels, on the same side with the St. Sebastian of Rossellino.[37] It was by Sandro Botticelli that the method of preparing banners and standards, in what is called inlaid work, was invented; and this he did that the colours might not sink through, showing the tint of the cloth on each side. The Baldachino of Orsanmichele is by this master, and is so treated, different figures of Our Lady are represented on it, all of which are varied and beautiful;[38] and this work serves to show how much more effectually that mode of proceeding preserves the cloth than do those mordants, which, corroding the surface, allow but a short life to the work; but as the mordants cost less, they are nevertheless more frequently used in our day than the first-named method.

Sandro Botticelli drew remarkably well, insomuch that, for a long time after his death, artists took the utmost pains to procure examples of his drawings, and we have some in our book which are executed with extraordinary skill and judgment; his stories were exceedingly rich in figures, as may be seen in the embroidered ornaments of the Cross borne in procession by the monks of Santa Maria Novella, and which were executed entirely after his designs.[39] This master was, in short, deserving of the highest praise for all

and he with the Liberal Arts. For a sympathetic appreciation of these frescoes see Vernon Lee's Juvenilia.

[35] This work is lost.

[36] This work is also lost.

[37] The Angels still exist in the Pieve of Empoli, and, according to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, seem the work of a pupil. The lower pictures are less carefully executed.

[38] This *Baldacchino* is lost. Four allegorical pictures are shown in the chapel of Sant' Ansano, near Fiesole, and are attributed to Sandro, but Morelli says they are not by him.

[39] These works have probably perished.

such works as he chose to execute with care and good will, as he did the Adoration of the Magi, in Santa Maria Novella, which is exceedingly beautiful. A small round picture by his hand, which may be seen in the apartments of the prior, in the monastery of the Angeli at Florence, is also very finely done ; the figures are small, but singularly graceful, and finished with the most judicious care and delicacy.[40] Similar in size to that of the Magi just mentioned is a picture, now in the possession of the Florentine noble, Messer Fabio Segni. The subject of this work is the Calumny of Apelles, and nothing more perfectly depicted could be imagined.[41] [42] Beneath this picture, which was presented by

[40] This circular picture is lost.

[41] Now in the Uffizi; the lines quoted by Vasari have perished. The subject was taken from Lucian's description of a picture by Apelles of Alexandria. Alberti, in *De Pictura*, probably written in 1435, proposed this subject as a model. It was attempted by many Renaissance painters, including Botticelli, Mantegna, Signorelli, Raphael, Dürer, and Rembrandt. Herr Föerster has found thirteen of these compositions in Italian painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and six among German or Flemish works. (See his special work, entitled *Lucian in der Renaissance.*) Herr Thausing points out that on the body of the throne of the judge is the representation of a bas-relief painted in *grisaille*, the subject being, with slight modifications, the Battle of the Centaurs of Zeuxis, as described by Lucian. There is a drawing for the figure of Truth in the collection of the Uffizi.

[42] No painter of the fifteenth century has been more discussed than Botticelli. The grace, the melancholy, the affectation even of his figures are charming. No one has created so intensely personal a type ; the very name of Sandro Botticelli calls up to one's mental vision the long, thin face ; the querulous mouth with its over-ripe lips ; the prominent chin, sometimes a little to one side ; the nose, thin at the root and full, often almost swollen at the nostrils ; the heavy tresses of ochre-colored hair, with the frequent touches of gilding ; the lank limbs, and the delicately undulating outline of the lithe body, under its fantastically embroidered or semi-transparent vesture. This strange type charms us by its introspective quality, its mournful ardour, its fragility, even by its morbidness, and it so charmed the painter that he reproduced it continually, and saw it, or certain distinctive features of it, in every human creature that he painted. Like all the artists of his time his paganism was somewhat timid and ascetic, his Christianity somewhat paganized and eclectic, but to this fusion of the warring ideals, common to all the workers of his age, he added something of his own—a fantastic elfin quality as impossible to define as it is to resist. His Madonnas, his goddesses, his saints have a touch of the sprite or the Undine in them; his "Saint Augustine in his Study" is a Doctor Faustus who has known forbidden lore ; his fantastic people of the *Primavera* have

Sandro himself to Antonio Segni, his most intimate friend, are now to be read the following verses, written by the above-named Messer Fabio :—

Indicio quemquam ne falsa lætere tentent*
Terrarum reges, parva tabella monet
Huic similem Ægypti regi donavit Apelles:
Rex fuit et dignus minere, manus eo.

danced in the mystic ring. We feel in his painted folk and his attitude toward them a subtle discord that is at once poignant and alluring, the crowned Madonna (l'Incoronata) dreams somewhat dejectedly in the midst of her glories, and seems rather the Mother of Seven Sorrows than a triumphant Queen; the Venus sailing over the flower-strewn sea is no radiant goddess, but an anæmic, nervous, mediæval prude longing for her mantle; the Graces who accompany the bride in the Lemmi frescoes are highly strung, self-conscious girls, who have grown up in the shadow of the cloister, but to them all Botticelli has lent the same subtle, suggestive charm. No painter is more easily understood to-day; his subjectivity, his intense personality, his languid distinction, his melancholy, which sometimes degenerates into peevishness, his touch of neurosis, render him the most modern of all the old masters, and perhaps the most sympathetic to our restless, nervous epoch. His technical limitations and the incompleteness of his artistic methods of expression offer a wide field for personal interpretation and for criticism of a literary and psychological character. Like all hyper-refined artists he is occasionally betrayed into over-elaboration of detail, a marking trait of the painter who had been trained in the goldsmiths' shops; he loved trinkets and intricately wreathed and plaited hair and complicated draperies. He was no portrait-painter, caring little for the differentiation of features; even in his Adoration of the Magi, though his Medici have fine faces, cleanly and closely drawn, he has seen them through his own temperament and has added so much of his ideal type that they all resemble one another, all suggest the portraits of Giuliano de' Medici, all are like elder brothers of the boy angels of the Incoronata. In color Sandro is usually agreeable and delicate, with occasionally a golden warmth of tone, but like most Tuscans he is in no sense a true colorist, and in composition of color he is confused and uneven. In composition of line he becomes a decorator of a very high order, but he has none of the sense of scenic distribution of groups which we find in Filippino's Thomas Aquinas, none of Ghirlandajo's noble ordering of the masses; his great frescoes of the Sistine are, as compositions, unbalanced even to awkwardness, while they are episodically interesting beyond any of the series. His Madonnas in *tondo* are perhaps his most charming works, his mythological pictures are the most remarkable and famous; but his Sistine frescoes, in spite of their failings, give the fullest measure of his capacity. He helped the evolution of art less than did some of his fellows, but no one created so intensely personal a type, and therefore no painter of the fifteenth century is more representative of that age of individual development.

* *Laedere* in the Milanesi edition.

BENEDETTO DA MAIANO, FLORENTINE SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT[1]

[Born 1442; died 1497.]

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THE Florentine sculptor, Benedetto da Maiano, was a carver in wood in his first youth, and was considered to be the best master in that calling who then took tool in hand : he was more especially excellent in the process which, as we have elsewhere related, was introduced at the time of Filippo Brunelleschi and Paolo Uccello, that, namely, of conjoining woods, tinted of different colours, and representing with these, buildings in perspective, foliage, and various fantasies of different kinds. In this branch of art Benedetto da Maiano was, in his youth, as we have before said, the best master that could be found, and this we see clearly proved by the many works from his hand still to be seen in different parts of Florence. Among these

[1] Benedetto di Leonardo da Majano was born in 1442.

are more particularly to be mentioned the Presses in the sacristy of Santa Maria del Fiore, all by him, and finished, for the most part, after the death of his uncle, Giuliano: these are entirely covered with figures in the inlaid work, foliage, and other decorations, executed with consummate art and at immense cost.[2] The novelty of this work having gained the master a very great name, he executed numerous examples thereof, which were sent to different princes and various places; among others to Alfonso, king of Naples, who had an escritoire, which had been executed after the design of Giuliano, uncle of Benedetto, who had served that monarch in his architectural undertakings. Benedetto himself had been to Naples for the purposes of their joint works, but a residence in that city not being to his liking, he returned to Florence, where, no long time after, he executed a pair of exceedingly rich coffers for king Matthias of Hungary,[3] who had many Florentines in his court, and was a great admirer of all works of ingenuity. These coffers were decorated with the most difficult and beautiful workmanship, in coloured woods, inlaid, and the artist being pressingly invited by the Hungarian monarch, determined on proceeding with them to his court. Having packed up his coffers, therefore, and embarked with them in a ship, he departed to Hungary; and having arrived there, he made his obeisance to the king, by whom he was very favourably received. Benedetto immediately caused the chests to be brought, and they were unpacked in presence of that sovereign, who greatly desired to behold them; but it was then discovered, that the humidity of the sea-voyage had softened the glues to such a degree, that when

[2] These are still in the sacristy, except a few pieces which are in the Opera del Duomo. Giuliano, who was Benedetto's brother, not his uncle, was an architect, sculptor, and *intarsiatore*.

[3] Through the protection of Filippo Scolari (Pippo Spano), a Florentine adventurer, who became a Hungarian magnate, many Tuscans obtained work in Hungary, where Matthias Corvinus was a famous art patron. Pellegrino di Terma, Ammanatini (il grasso Legnaiuolo), and two uncles of Benvenuto Cellini (Baccio and Francesco Cellini) all found favor at the Hungarian court.

the waxed cloths in which the coffers had been wrapped were opened, almost all the pieces were found sticking to it, and so fell to the ground. Whether Benedetto stood amazed and confounded at such an event, in the presence of so many nobles, let every one judge for himself; nevertheless, having put the work together as well as he could, he so contrived it that the king was tolerably satisfied therewith; but the master himself took a mortal aversion to the occupation, and for the shame it had brought him to, he could no longer endure it. Laying aside all doubt and timidity therefore, he resolved to devote himself to sculpture, an art in which he had already made some attempts while at Loretto, with Giuliano, his uncle; he had executed the Lavatory of the Sacristy, for example, with several Angels in marble. Before he left Hungary, therefore, he proved to the king, that if he had in the first instance been put to shame, the fault was in the inferior nature of the work, and not in his genius, which was a versatile and exalted one. Having executed many works, both in terra-cotta and marble, all which pleased the king greatly, Benedetto returned to Florence: he had no sooner arrived there than he was appointed by the Signoria to execute the decorations, in marble, for the door of their chamber of audience, where he sculptured figures of boys, which are very beautiful, supporting festoons of flowers with their arms; but the most admirable portion of this work is the central figure, that of St. John, as a youth, which is held to be of singular beauty; the height is two braccia: and to the end that the whole work should be by his own hand, Benedetto executed the wood-work [4] which

[4] The door was executed in 1481; the *intarsiatura* is not by Benedetto, but by Giuliano and Francesco di Giorgio (Il Francione), and was finished in 1480. The statue of Saint John (for some time attributed to Donatello) is in the Bargello. The two *putti* holding candelabra have been recently discovered, as has also the Justice (brought lately from the Uffizi to its present place in the museum). It is a low relief resembling the Justice of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, which latter is also attributed by Herr Schmarsow to Benedetto. The above works (save the Perugian Justice) are now in the

encloses the door himself, representing figures in woods inlaid, on the folds, on each fold one, that is to say, the figure of Dante being on one side, and that of Petrarch on the other. To any who has seen no other work of this kind by Benedetto, these two figures alone may suffice to show how admirable and excellent a master in tarsia he was. The audience-chamber has, in our day, been painted at the command of the Signor Duke Cosimo, by Francesco Salviati, as will be related in its due place.

In the church of Santa Maria Novella, at Florence, and in the chapel, painted by Filippino, Benedetto constructed a Sepulchral Monument[5] of black marble, for Filippo Strozzi, the elder ; he there represented the Madonna with Angels, executed very carefully. The portrait of Filippo Strozzi, in marble, prepared by Benedetto for the same place, is now in the Strozzi palace. For the elder Lorenzo de' Medici, the same artist executed a Bust of the Florentine painter Giotto ; it was placed in Santa Maria del' Fiore, over the inscription, of which we have spoken sufficiently in the life of Giotto. This work, which is in marble, is also considered to be a tolerably good one.[6]

Bargello. See Sig. Umberto Rossi, *Il museo nazionale nel triennio*, 1889-91, *l'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VI.

[5] This monument (1491-1493) is still in the Strozzi chapel, and Perkins (Tuscan Sculptors, Vol. I., p. 230) calls the *tondo* of Madonna, supported by adoring angels, not only Benedetto's masterpiece, but one of the best works of the fifteenth century. The bust of Filippo, after remaining for a long time in the Strozzi palace, was sold to the Louvre. There is also a Strozzi bust in Berlin, considered by Dr. Bode (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1888) to be the terra-cotta *maquette* for the bust in the Louvre, and much finer than the latter.

[6] According to Milanesi, the Commune, and not Lorenzo de' Medici, paid for the Giotto and for a bust of Antonio Squarcialupi the organist, executed in the same year, 1490, and for the same place. See Dr. Bode on the youthful works of Benedetto in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, VII., for the year 1884. Dr. Bode attributes to Benedetto in Loreto the Evangelists, *lunette* reliefs in *terra-cotta smaltata ;* two, however of these *lunettes* have been found to be modern substitutions. Sig. Pietro Gianuizzi, *Benedetto da Majano Scultore in Loreto*, doubts if the *lunettes* be his, and thinks the lavatory cannot be a youthful work, but that Benedetto was in Loreto between 1484 and 1487.

Benedetto repaired, at a later period, to Naples, summoned thither on the death of his uncle Giuliano,[7] to whom he was heir ; he there, in addition to certain works executed for the king, sculptured a relief in marble, for the Count of Terranuova,[8] in the monastery belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto. The subject of this work is the Annunciation ;[9] the Virgin is surrounded by Saints and beautiful Boys, who sustain garlands of flowers ; in the predella are several bassi-rilievi in a very good manner. In Faenza this master erected a magnificent marble tomb for the body of San Savino,[10] and on this are six stories in bas-relief, representing events from the life of that saint ; they show much power of invention, and are of most correct design, which is manifest in the buildings represented, as well as in the figures ; insomuch that, for this as well as for other works,

[7] According to M. Müntz (*L'Age d'Or*), Giuliano da Majano, brother of Benedetto, built the triumphal arch at Naples called Porta Capuana, the Villas of Poggio Reale and La Duchesca, and planned the Duomo of Faenza. He was for a time master of the works of the cathedral at Florence and of the sanctuary at Loreto. Vasari erroneously attributes to him, in the palace of San Marco at Rome and in the Vatican, work which was in reality done by Giuliano da San Gallo.

[8] A letter from the queen of Naples to Lorenzo de' Medici, quoted by Milanesi, shows that this monument was completed in 1489. Benedetto also undoubtedly was commissioned to execute sculptures for the *Porta dell' Arco del Castelnuovo*, and left several unfinished fragments of this work at the time of his death, since such are mentioned in the inventory of his effects.

[9] This *bas-relief* is *in situ*. The background, a palace in a garden, is treated in perspective, and indirectly shows the influence of Ghiberti. See Perkins (Tuscan Sculptors), who also characterizes the Madonna as pleasing, the angel as violent and mannered.

[10] The altar of San Savino in the cathedral of Faenza is classed by Dr. Bode as an early work of 1471, and is now generally accepted as such. Perkins (Tuscan Sculptors) notes that the *bas-reliefs*, although pictures in marble, more nearly meet the requirements of sculpture than do many of Ghiberti's reliefs. The altar has above it a *lunette* with a sarcophagus and statuettes of the Virgin and two Angels ; below are pilasters and six *reliefs*. Other important works by Benedetto (1490–93–94) are in San Gimignano, in the Collegiate church, and in Sant' Agostino. In the latter church there is an altar of San Bartolo, with statuettes of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and a Madonna *in tondo*. The second work is a much less important altar of Santa Fina, while there is a bust of Onofrio Vanni in the sacristy of the Duomo.

Benedetto was justly acknowledged to be an excellent master in sculpture. Before he left Romagna, he was accordingly invited to execute the portrait of Galeotti Malatesta; he also sculptured the likeness—but whether earlier or later I do not know—of Henry VII., king of England, which he did after a portrait on paper, furnished to him by certain Florentine merchants. The sketches of these two portraits were found in the house of Benedetto after his death.[11]

Having finally returned to Florence, he constructed for Pietro Mellini, a Florentine citizen, and at that time a very rich merchant, the pulpit of marble[12] which is still to be seen in the church of Santa Croce, a work considered to be one of the rarest excellence, and more beautiful than any other ever executed in that manner. The events from the life of St. Francis, which are there represented, are greatly extolled, and are, indeed, finished with so much skill and care, that nothing better in marble could possibly be desired, Benedetto having with consummate art sculptured rocks, trees, buildings, and various objects in perspective, with other things, brought out with marvellous freedom. There is besides a repetition of these decorations on a sepulchral stone beneath the pulpit, and this is executed with so much ability that it would not be possible to praise it sufficiently. It is affirmed that in the progress of this work Benedetto had considerable difficulty with the wardens of the works in Santa Croce; the cause whereof was, that he proposed to erect his pulpit against one of the columns which support some of the arches that sustain the roof, and intended to perforate the same in order to make a place for

[11] These busts have not been traced.

[12] This pulpit is one of those famous and exquisite decorative compositions in which the Tuscans excelled. In detail, the detached figures are graceful rather than powerful, and the *reliefs*, which vary in excellence, fall below the great *reliefs* of the epoch. The bust of Pietro Mellini by Benedetto (1474) is in the Bargello. Three terra-cotta *bozzi* for the panels of this pulpit are in private collections in Italy, a fourth, in the Berlin Museum, represents the dream of Pope Innocent and was never executed in marble, but was replaced in the pulpit by the "approval of the Order of St. Francis."

his staircase, and the entrance to the pulpit. But the wardens refused their consent, fearing that he might so greatly weaken the column by the cavity required for the stairs, as to cause the weight above to press too heavily upon it, thereby endangering the safety of that part of the church; Mellini, however, having given a guarantee that the work should be completed without injury of any kind to the building, they finally agreed. Benedetto then first of all caused the column to be secured externally by strong bands of bronze, all that part, that is to say, which from the pulpit downwards is covered with granite (*pietra forte*); he then constructed the steps for ascending to the pulpit, and in proportion as he excavated the column within, did he add to it externally the granite above-mentioned, in the manner that we now see. He thus conducted this work to perfection, to the astonishment of all who beheld it, displaying in every part, and in all the parts together, the utmost excellence that could be desired in such an enterprize.

Many affirm that Filippo Strozzi the elder, when proposing to build his palace, requested the advice of Benedetto da Maiano, who thereupon constructed a model, after which the building was commenced; but the fabric was afterwards continued and completed by Cronaca, when Benedetto da Maiano was dead.[13]

[13] This palace, one of the grandest ever built, is not inferior to the *Palazzo Medici*, in its impression of mass and weight; at the same time it is even more picturesque in the distribution and varied size of its openings, the arrangements of its rings, gratings, and lanterns. Once seen, it can no more be forgotten than can the Pitti, or the Palazzo Vecchio, and it is a worthy memorial of its line of citizen-princes, the Strozzi. We can ask no more perfect and no more astonishing example of the breadth and depth of Renaissance culture than is displayed in the gamut which has at one end Benedetto the *intarsiatore* inlaying a chest for the King of Hungary, and at the other end, Benedetto the architect rearing this palace, which among all dwelling houses remains the most formidably imposing by its frowning mass, yet is picturesque beyond many richer structures, and which in its skilfully graduated bossages, seems certainly not the work of a carver of delicate Madonnas, but rather of a Michelangelesque energy. If Benedetto had been a painter-archi-

Having acquired sufficient to enable him to live, Benedetto would no longer undertake works in marble after those enumerated above, except that he finished the Santa Maria Maddalena which had been commenced by Desiderio da Settignano, in the church of Santa Trinita, and executed the Crucifix which is above the altar in Santa Maria del Fiore, with some others of a similar kind.[14]

With respects to architecture, although this master undertook but a few works in that branch of art, he yet proved his skill in those few no less than in sculpture, more especially in the management of certain alterations * undertaken at enormous cost under his direction and by his counsels, in the palace of the Signoria of Florence.[15] The first † was that in the hall, now called the Hall of the Dugento, over which the Signoria desired to erect, not one similar room, but two rooms, a hall and an audience chamber. A wall was thus required to be raised, and not a slight one either; in this wall there was to be a marble door, and one of tolerable thickness, nor was less skill and judgment than were possessed by Benedetto required for the execution of such a work.[16]

In order to avoid diminishing the hall first-mentioned, therefore, and yet secure the proper division of those above, Benedetto proceeded in the following manner: on a beam of one braccio in thickness, and extending in length the whole breadth of the hall, he fastened another consisting of two

tect instead of a sculptor-architect the observer of the Strozzi Palace would have added, that a building with such a play of light upon its surface was the work of a colorist. Benedetto laid its foundations in 1489; Filippo Strozzi died in 1491; the second range of windows was completed in 1498. Il Cronaca finished the building, but his beautiful cornice has never been carried out in its entire length.

* Instead of "certain alterations" read "three ceilings" (*tre palchi*).

† The translator has here omitted the word ceiling (*palco*).

[14] The wooden crucifix of 1490 still stands on the high altar of the Duomo.

[15] This alteration of the Palazzo Vecchio consisted in the building, just above the *Sala del Dugento*, of two new rooms—the *Sala del Oriuolo* and the *Sala dell' Udienza.*

[16] Milanesi is doubtful whether Benedetto was really the author of all this work, and is inclined to credit it to Giuliano da Majano and il Francione.

pieces, and giving an elevation by its thickness of two-thirds of a braccio; these being carefully secured and fastened at both ends, formed a projection of two braccia on each side of the wall, and were furnished with clamps, in such a manner that an arch half a braccio thick, and constructed of double bricks, could be raised upon them, being supported, moreover, by the principal walls. These beams were then dove-tailed together, and so firmly united by strong clamps and bands of iron, that they were no longer two, but one. But to the end that these beams should not have to bear more than the wall supporting the arch, while the arch itself should support all the rest, the master furthermore attached two strong iron bars to the arch, and these being firmly bolted into the lower part of the beams, upheld, and do uphold them in such sort, that even though they did not suffice of themselves, yet the arch (by means of the two strong bands surrounding the beams, one on one side of the marble door and the other on the other) would be capable of upholding a much greater weight than that of the wall built upon it, which is of bricks, and half a braccio in thickness: he nevertheless caused the bricks of which the wall was constructed to be moulded in such a manner as to give increased breadth to the lower part of the wall, and thus impart greater stability to the whole. By these means, and thanks to the judicious management of Benedetto, the Hall of the Dugento retained all its extent, and above that hall, in the same space, by means of the partition wall, the hall called that of the Oriuolo was constructed, with the chamber of audience wherein the triumph of Camillus, by the hand of Salviati, is depicted. The ornamental work of the ceiling was executed in rich carving by Marco del Tasso, with the assistance of his brothers Domenico and Giuliano who likewise decorated the ceiling of the hall of the Oriuolo, and that of the audience chamber. The marble door between these rooms had been made double: of the outer door and its decorations we have already spoken, and over the inner one Benedetto placed a seated figure of Justice, holding a

sword in one hand and the globe in the other ; around the arch is the following inscription : *Diligite Justitiam qui judicatis terram.* The whole work was conducted with admirable [17] art, and finished with extreme care and diligence.

For the church of the Madonne delle Grazie, but a short distance without the city of Arezzo, Benedetto erected a portico with a flight of steps leading to the door of the entrance.[18] In the construction of this portico, Benedetto made the arches resting on the columns, and beneath the roof he placed an architrave, frieze and cornice entirely around the fabric. To the channel for conveying off the water, which projects to the extent of a braccio and a third, he gave the form of a chaplet of roses, cut in the hard stone called *macigno;* between the base of the eaves and the denticulated and oviform ornaments beneath the channel, there is a space of two braccia and a half ; and this, with the half braccio added by the tiles, gives a projecting roof of about three braccia, a very useful, beautiful, rich, and ingenious work. In this portico, and in the peculiarities of its construction, there are many things worthy the consideration of artists ; for the master, desiring to give his roof so great a projection without modillions or corbels for its support, made the stones on which are the carved rosettes of such a size that the one half of them only stood forward, while the other half was firmly built into the wall ; being thus counterpoised, they were able to bear the whole weight afterwards laid on them without any danger of injury to the building, as they have done to the present day, and as the architect did not wish the roof of the portico to appear of many pieces, as it really was, he surrounded the whole, piece by pieces, with a cornice, which seems to form a base to the

[17] The statue of Justice has been replaced by another, with marble head and hands, and porphyry body ; a low relief of a Justice by Benedetto has recently been discovered in the Uffizi and taken to the Bargello ; it is probably from one of these doors of Benedetto. See note 4.

[18] This beautiful portico still exists, but the staircase has been altered.

chaplet of rosettes, and this being fixed in coffer-work and well conjoined, united the whole in such a manner, that whoever sees the work believes it to be entirely of one piece. In the same place, Benedetto constructed a level ceiling decorated with gilded rosettes, which is much admired.

Having purchased an estate at about half a mile from Prato, beyond the gate leading towards Florence, Benedetto built a very beautiful little chapel on the high-road, at no great distance from the gate. In a recess of this building he placed a figure of Our Lady with the Child in her arms, which is only in terra-cotta, and although of no other colour than that of the clay, is so admirably executed that its beauty is equal to that of marble. The same may be said of two angels, each holding a light in his hand, placed by the artist over all, by way of ornament. The decoration of the altar consists of a Dead Christ, the Madonna, and San Giovanni, executed in marble, and singularly beautiful. At his death this master left in his house the commencement of many other works, both in terra-cotta and marble.[19]

[19] Milanesi has shown that Benedetto and Giuliano had still another brother, Giovanni, and that the three working together made, in 1480, this tabernacle of the Madonna dell' Ulivo. The tabernacle and Madonna are now in the cathedral of Prato. The Berlin Museum has a painted terra-cotta Madonna and Child (see Vol. XXXVIII., Second Period, p. 378, *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1888), which, according to Dr. Bode, is very like the Madonna dell' Ulivo, but larger and finer, and which he believes to be undoubtedly by Benedetto. Dr. Bode also ascribes to him another terra-cotta, a Madonna borne by Angels, and certain *reliefs*, all in the Berlin Museum. Matteo Civitali, although not included by Vasari among his Lives, is a sculptor of great importance and closely affiliated with Benedetto of Maiano by the character of his works. M. Charles Yriarte has written (Paris, 1886) an important monograph upon Matteo Civitali, in which he claims that Matteo's style unites the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and that he is the last of those contained yet fervent sculptors who instinctively avoided all violence of movement and all contortion. He was born in 1436, and died in 1501, passing his life in Florence, Lucca, Pisa, Genoa, Sarzana, and Carrara. Nearly all his best works are in Lucca. These are the tomb of Pietro da Noceto (cathedral of Lucca), a Fountain (church of San Michele), a *Pietà* (church of the Lammari), the pulpit and two fonts (in cathedral), a Madonna and Child (church of the Trinity), and Statue of the Virgin in the *façade* of San Michele. He is also one

Benedetto da Maiano [20] [21] drew extremely well, as may be seen by certain drawings preserved in our book. He died

of the most delicate and exquisite among the masters of ornament—see his *tempietto*, also his altar of Saint Regulus, both in the cathedral of Lucca, and his Annunciation in the Museum. There are in the cathedral of Genoa six statues by Matteo Civitali representing Adam, Eve, Zachariah, Elizabeth, and Abraham. A large relief in a *lunette* with a scene from the life of St. John Baptist is also attributed to Matteo.

[20] Benedetto, born 1442, died May 24, 1497.

[21] When Benedetto da Maiano died Cosimo Rosseli was appointed administrator. The list of books which Benedetto left is interesting, as showing what works an artist of the time owned and used. They were the Bible, the *Divina Commedia*, the *Vangeli e Fioretti* of St. Francis, Titus Livius, the Chronicle of Florence, the Life of Alexander of Macedon, Lives of the Fathers, Boccaccio, S. Antonino, the Book of Vices and Virtues, the *Novellino*, and *Libro de' Laudi*. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in Italy, III., 429, note 2, quoting a report of Cesare Guasti, published in *Archiv. Stor.*, Vol. XVI., part 1st, p. 92.

Benedetto da Maiano is a master who never rises to the greatest heights, but who is never disappointing, is never inadequate, and who in his finest Madonnas (generally those in the *tondi* above sepulchral monuments), and especially in his architectural arrangement of pulpits, shrines, etc., attains the full measure of the best Florentine eclecticism; with his bust of Pietro Mellini he holds an honorable place among the realistic portraitists of his epoch. In his *reliefs* he had a tendency to follow Ghiberti, and when we see the relative weakness of *reliefs* in the hands of even such good sculptors as Benedetto, we realize how easily pictorial sculpture might have triumphed and degenerated had it not been for the corrective influence of Donatello. Indeed it is by comparing the *reliefs* of the gates of San Giovanni with those of Benedetto, Antonio Rossellino, and others that we best realize the transcendent capacity of Lorenzo Ghiberti, advancing far beyond its epoch and being sufficient unto itself. Benedetto as an architect has an enduring title to fame in the Strozzi Palace of Florence, as sculptor he has left no superlative masterpiece, although Vernon Lee and Pater have found material for admirable studies in his bust of Pietro Mellini; but, on the other hand, he produced works which call attention in nearly every medium that the Renaissance offered to the sculptor-decorator. He is the all-round craftsman of the *Quattrocento*—marble-cutter, inlayer, worker in terra-cotta, stucco, and carved wood, directing a whole staff of workmen in his shop of the Via de' Servi (a shop which still shelters Florentine industry), and leaving us, in the inventory of his personal estate, his furniture and books, material enough to give an excellent idea of the simple and yet thoroughly artistic surroundings of the men who decorated fifteenth-century Florence. His books introduce us to a workman who knew, above all, his Bible and his Lives of the Saints, who read his Florentine History, Dante, and only added a few classical authors, since to him who worked for churches Madonna and the saints sufficed, and he who did the mythological decorations for a study or palace could get his scheme, ready

in the year 1498, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was interred by his friends in San Lorenzo. His property was bequeathed, after the death of certain relatives, to the brotherhood of the Bigallo.

made, from some humanist and scholar. In sum, Benedetto in his best achievement is the comrade of the most excellent eclectic sculptors, in his minor works he is the representative of the craftsmen who supplied the artistic daily needs of the Renaissance.

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO, FLORENTINE PAINTER, GOLDSMITH, AND SCULPTOR[1]

[Born 1435; died 1488.]

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THE Florentine, Andrea del Verrocchio, was at once a goldsmith, a master in perspective, a sculptor, a carver in wood, a painter, and a musician; but it is true that he had a somewhat hard and crude manner in sculpture and painting, as one who had acquired those arts by infinite labour and study, rather than from a gift of nature. Had he possessed the facility arising from natural powers to an equal degree with the diligence and industry wherewith he was gifted, and which he bestowed on the arts he exercised, Andrea Verrocchio would have been among the most excellent of masters. But these arts require the union of zealous study with natural qualities in their highest perfection, and where either fails, the artist

[1] Andrea di Michele di Francesco Cione was born in 1435; he was apprenticed to Giuliano Verrocchi, and hence called del Verrocchio.

rarely attains to the first rank in his profession.[2] Yet study will conduct him to a certain eminence, and therefore it is that Andrea, who carried this to an extent beyond all other masters, is counted among the distinguished and eminent masters of our arts.

In his youth Andrea Verrocchio gave considerable attention to science, more especially to geometry. When occupied in goldsmith's work he executed, among many other things, certain brooches or buttons for the copes used in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, which are still in that cathedral,[3] with several larger works; among these is a vase surrounded by figures of animals, garlands of flowers, and various fantasies, a work known to all goldsmiths, with another of similar kind, on which there is a dance of children, which is very graceful and beautiful.

[2] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle observe that Verrocchio in his painting combined the manners of several different masters—Fra Filippo Lippi, Andrea dal Castagno, and Domenico Veneziano. In spite of the wide dissimilarity of the two sculptors, Baldinucci's statement that Verrocchio studied with Donatello is thoroughly reasonable, as he learned much from his great predecessor, however long or short a time he may have been actually his pupil.

[3] All these works have perished; as a goldsmith Verrocchio is only known to us by one *bas-relief* upon the silver altar of the Florentine Baptistery. Herr Cornelius von Fabriczy, in an article upon Andrea del Verrocchio, in the service of the Medici, *L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, May–June, 1895, pp. 164–176, notes our lack of knowledge concerning Andrea's youth, and the fact that the earliest works mentioned by Vasari (putting goldsmith's work out of the question) do not antedate 1467, in which year he began the St. Thomas of Or San Michele, while most of the works named by Vasari were not begun before 1483. Herr von Fabriczy shows that by 1461 Andrea had graduated from the goldsmith's shop, and had become a competitor with Desiderio and Giuliano da Majano for a chapel or *ædiculus* to be erected in the cathedral of Orvieto. (This chapel, which was eventually built by Giovanni di Meuccio da Siena, has been destroyed.) Herr von Fabriczy publishes in his article a list (from a fifteenth-century document) of works done by Andrea for the Medici; this includes, besides the David and the *Putto* of the Palazzo Vecchio, a helmet, painted standards, and other objects executed for the jousts of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici. Another entry in the list mentions the setting up of many "antique" heads above the arches to the court-yard of the Medici Palace; anything done for this court-yard, finished in 1454, would count among Andrea's earliest works. The list, furthermore, shows that Verrocchio, like so many other artists of the Renaissance, superintended the arrangements of festivals and processions, or at all events executed decorations for the same.

These works affording proof of his competence, Andrea was appointed by the Guild of the Merchants to prepare two[4] historical compositions in relief, for the two ends of the altar of San Giovanni; these works are in silver, and when completed acquired him high praise and a very great name.

At that time, some of those large figures of the Apostles, in silver, which stand ordinarily on the altar of the Pope's chapel in Rome, were wanting, with other ornaments, also in silver; wherefore, Andrea being sent for, the commission to prepare all that was required in that matter was given to him with great favour, by Pope Sixtus, when the master conducted the whole work to completion, with remarkable judgment and much diligence.[5] Meanwhile, Andrea, perceiving that great store was set by the many antique statues and other things of that kind discovered in Rome, seeing too that the Pope commanded the bronze horse[6] to be placed in San Giovanni Laterano, and that even of such fragments as were daily found—to say nothing of entire works—great account was made; observing all this, I say, he resolved to devote his attention to sculpture, and thereupon, abandoning altogether the calling of the goldsmith, he set himself to cast certain small figures in bronze, which were very much commended: taking courage from this, he soon afterwards began to work in marble also.[7]

Now it happened at this time that the wife of Francesco Tornabuoni[8] died in child-bed, and her husband, who had

[4] He made only *one* of these, *circa* 1477. The altar, kept ordinarily in the Opera del Duomo, is used once a year in the Baptistery. Two small sketches in terra-cotta for this silver relief belong to M. Adolphe de Rothschild. M. Eperjesy, Austrian Ambassador to Rome, has a finer and more complete sketch, also in terra-cotta, of the same subject. See Herr Hermann Ulmann, *l'Arch. Stor.*, VII., 50 (1894).

[5] Executed 1471–1484, they were stolen about the middle of the last century.

[6] The horse of the Marcus Aurelius.

[7] M. Müntz (*L'Age d'Or*, p. 409), insisting upon the exaggeration of Vasari, declares that Verrocchio's admiration for antiquity was always purely Platonic.

[8] Baron von Reumont considers that Giovanni, not Francesco Tornabuoni,

greatly loved her while living, desired to do her all the honour in his power after her death; he therefore commissioned Andrea to erect a monument to her memory, and the master thereupon represented the lady herself on the stone which covered her tomb, with the birth of her infant, and her departure to another life; he added three figures, representing three virtues, which were considered very beautiful, being the first work that he had executed in marble.*

Having then returned to Florence with money, fame, and honour, Andrea Verrocchio was appointed to execute a figure of David in bronze,[9] two braccia and a half high, which, being completed, was placed, to the great credit of the master, on the summit of the staircase, where the chain formerly was. While Andrea was occupied with the statue just described, he likewise made the figure of Our Lady, in marble, which is over the tomb of Messer Leonardo Bruni, of Arezzo, in the church of Santa Croce;[10] this he executed while still young, for the architect and sculptor, Bernardo Rossellino,

was donor of the monument, and believes that the tomb was never taken from Florence to its Roman destination. M. Müntz thinks, from the style of the fragments of this tomb preserved in the Bargello, that the date of the work must have been much earlier than 1477, the year of Francesco's death, or else that the tomb was the work of a less skilful artist than Verrocchio. M. Müntz disagrees with Von Reumont, and is convinced that the tomb of Francesca was set up in S. M. della Minerva, and was removed about 1588, when the Tornabuoni family became extinct, and the chapel was given to the Nari. The three Virtues from this tomb (together with a Justice, added, thinks the critic, for the sake of symmetry) have been identified by MM. Müntz, Courajod, and Bode as in the collection of Mme. E. André in Paris. They are Andrea's earliest statues of authenticated date. See *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1891, Third Period, VI.

* The translator has here omitted a few words, viz.: "Which sepulchre was put up in the Minerva."

[9] The David executed in 1476 (n. s.) stood first in the Palazzo Vecchio, but is now in the Bargello. The face is especially interesting, as potentially containing the elements which developed into the type of Leonardo da Vinci, and through the latter into that of Luini, Beltraffio, and half the painters of Lombardy.

[10] A Madonna and Child in *tondo*, with angels on either side, the whole forming a *lunette*. Bruni died in 1443, so that if Verrocchio was really born in 1435, he must have executed this Madonna long after Bruni's death. See Milanesi, III., 361, note 1.

who erected the whole work, which is in marble, as we have before said. The same artist prepared a mezzo-relievo in marble, of Our Lady with the Child in her arms, a half length, which was formerly in the Medici palace,[11] and is now placed, as being a very beautiful thing, over a door in the apartments of the Duchess of Florence. The same master also executed two heads in metal, one representing Alexander the Great, taken in profile ; the other Darius, portrayed after his own fancy ; each forming a separate picture by itself, both in mezzo-relievo, and varied in the crests, armour, and all other particulars. These were both sent to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, by the illustrious Lorenzo de' Medici, the elder, with many other things, as will be related in the proper place.[12]

Having by all these works acquired the name of an excellent master, more especially as regarded casting in bronze, wherein he took great delight, Andrea was appointed to execute the monument of Giovanni and Piero, sons of Cosimo de' Medici, the decorations of which are in bronze, and in full relief. The sarcophagus is of porphyry, supported by four bronze consoles, which are decorated with foliage of great beauty, and finished with the most diligent care. This monument stands between the chapel of the sacrament and the sacristy,[13] nor would it be possible to discover a more perfectly executed work, whether cast or chiselled ; on this occasion the master also gave proof of his skill in architecture. Having erected the tomb in question within the embrasure of a window, five braccia in breadth, and about

[11] There is a fine terra-cotta of this subject in the museum of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, at Florence. The fate of the work mentioned above is unknown.

[12] Milanesi knows nothing of these works except that a font was ordered of Andrea by Matthias in 1488.

[13] This well-known tomb (1472) is still *in situ*. A document printed by Herr Cornelius von Fabriczy, *Andrea del Verrocchio ai servizi de Medici*, *l'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, May–June, 1895, proves that Andrea also executed the very simple monument to Cosimo de' Medici the elder, in the same sacristy. The fountain or lavatory in the little room off the sacristy is variously attributed to Verrocchio and to Rossellino.

ten high, and placed the sarcophagus on a basement which divides the above-named chapel of the sacrament from the old sacristy ; he then, to close the aperture from the tomb to the ceiling, constructed a grating in bronze, of an oviform pattern, representing most naturally a net work of ropes, which he adorned at intervals with festoons and other fanciful embellishments, the whole work evincing great powers of invention, extraordinary judgment, and consummate skill.

Donatello had erected a tabernacle for the Council of Six of the Guild of Merchants (that which is now in the oratory of Or San Michele opposite to St. Michael), and there was likewise to have been made a San Tommaso in bronze, laying his hand on the wound in the side of Christ: but this work was not proceeded with, because among those who had the charge of that matter, were some who would have it done by Donatello, while others would have Lorenzo Ghiberti, and thus the affair had remained while Donato and Lorenzo were living, but the two statues were finally entrusted to Andrea Verrocchio. Having accordingly made the models and moulds, our artist cast the figures, when they came out so firm, complete, and beautiful, that the casting was considered a most admirable one. Andrea then set himself to polish and finish his work, which he brought to the perfection in which we now see it, and than which nothing better can be found. The incredulity of Thomas, and his too great desire to assure himself of the truth of the fact related to him, are clearly perceived in his countenance, but at the same time the love with which he lays his hand most tenderly on the side of Christ is also manifest. In the figure of the Saviour likewise, as he raises his arm with much freedom of attitude, and opening his vesture, disperses the doubts of his incredulous disciple, there is all that grace and divinity, so to speak, which art can give to the form it represents. The manner in which Andrea has clothed these figures also, in beautiful and well arranged draperies, makes it manifest that he was no less intimately acquainted with his

art than were Donato, Lorenzo, and the other masters who had preceded him: wherefore this work well deserved to be placed within a tabernacle made by Donato, and to be held, as it ever has been, in the highest estimation.[14]

The reputation of Andrea could not now attain to any higher degree in this branch of art, and as he was one of those men who are not satisfied with excellence in one thing, but who desire to possess the same distinction in others also, he turned his attention to painting, and by means of study, produced the cartoon of a combat of undraped figures, very well executed with the pen, to be afterwards painted on the façade of a building.[15] He prepared the cartoons in like manner for other pictures, historical pieces, &c., and afterwards began to put them into execution, but whatever may have been the cause, these works remained unfinished. There are some drawings by this master in our book, which display very great judgment and extraordinary patience; among them are certain female heads, of which the features, expressions, and arrangement of the hair, were constantly imitated, for their exceeding beauty, by Leonardo da Vinci.[16] We have besides two horses, with the various measurements and the proportions according to which they are to be increased from a smaller to a larger size, all which are correct and free from error. There is also a rilievo in terra-cotta in my possession; this is the head of a horse copied from the antique, and is a singularly beautiful thing. The

[14] The Christ with St. Thomas was commenced in 1478 and finished in 1483. M. Müntz, in praising the profound sentiment of this group, sees in its expression a foreshadowing of what Andrea's great pupil, Leonardo, was to give to the world later in his Last Supper of Milan. C. C. Perkins, while also emphasizing this sentiment, deplores what he finds to be exaggeration in the expression and angularity of movement and draperies alike. One may add that there is a certain confusion in these draperies, and that the eye wanders over the entire group instead of instinctively focusing one paramount and striking effect.

[15] This cartoon is lost.

[16] Here the direct testimony of Vasari is added to the indication seen in the face of the David, that Verrocchio was the originator of the type which has become that of Leonardo da Vinci.

venerable Don Vincenzio Borghini has likewise drawings in his book, of which we have already spoken. Among others, there is the design for a sepulchral monument, erected by Andrea, in Venice, for a doge of that republic, with an Adoration of the Magi and a female head, all depicted on paper with the most finished delicacy.[17]

Andrea Verrocchio executed the figure in bronze of a boy strangling a fish, on the fountain of the villa at Careggi, for Lorenzo de' Medici. This the Signor Duke Cosimo has now caused to be placed, as we see, on the fountain in the court of his palace ; the boy is a truly admirable figure.[18]

At a later period, and when the erection of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore had been completed, it was resolved, after many discussions, that the copper ball, which, according to the directions left by Filippo Brunelleschi, was to be placed on the summit of that edifice, should be prepared. The order to do this was consequently given[19] to Andrea, who made the ball four braccia high, and fixing it on a disc of proportionate size, he chained and secured it in such a manner that the cross could afterwards be safely erected upon it, which operations being completed, the whole was put up amidst great festivities and with infinite rejoicing of the people. There was without doubt much skill and care required for the execution of this work, and the rather, as it was needful so to contrive that the ball could be entered, as is in fact the case, from below, and also to secure it by various fastenings, in such a manner that storm and wind should not damage the construction.[20]

Andrea Verrocchio never gave himself rest ; he was perpetually occupied either with painting or sculpture, and sometimes changed from one to the other, to the end that

[17] Most of the drawings mentioned by Vasari are lost.

[18] This little statue, still in the basin of the fountain of the Palazzo Vecchio, is one of the most charming works of the Renaissance. It is a caprice, but a caprice full at once of science and of spontaneity.

[19] In 1468.

[20] After the ball of Andrea was thrown down by lightning, the present one, which is larger, was erected in its stead.

he might not weary himself by too long a continuance at one thing, as many do. And although he did not put the cartoons above described in execution, he nevertheless did paint some pictures; among others, one for the nuns of San Domenico, in Florence, a work in which it appeared to him that he had acquitted himself very well;[21] wherefore, no long time after, he painted another in San Salvi, for the monks of Vallombrosa. The subject of this picture is the Baptism of Christ by St. John,[22] and being assisted in it by Leonardo da Vinci, then a youth and Andrea's disciple, the former painted therein the figure of an angel, which was much superior to the other parts of the picture. Perceiving this, Andrea resolved never again to take pencil in hand, since Leonardo, though still so young, had acquitted himself in that art better than he had done.[23]

Cosimo de' Medici, having at this time many antiquities

[21] Mr. Berenson (Florentine Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1896) attributes to Verrocchio an Annunciation (Uffizi, 1288), a Madonna and Angel (104A, Berlin), and, conditionally, three profile portraits of women (Uffizi, Berlin, Poldi-Pezzoli of Milan); a Madonna and Angels (London), and a portrait (Vienna, Lichtenstein). Herr Fabriczy, *op. cit.*, proves that Verrocchio painted a portrait of Lucrezia Donati; he thinks it may be identified with a portrait of a girl in the Berlin Museum, there ascribed to F. Granacci, or perhaps with the profile portrait of a girl accredited to Raffaellino del Garbo, in the Barker collection, London.

[22] In the Florentine Academy.

[23] This seems like many of the fables of the Renaissance; but Dr. Richter, in his Leonardo da Vinci, says that not only the angel mentioned by Vasari, but also the second angel and the figure of Christ are painted in oil, the favorite medium of Leonardo, whereas Andrea never departed from the use of *tempera*. M. Müntz, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1887, Vol. LXXXIII., p. 659, advocates the theory that Verrocchio only really developed after contact with his great pupil Leonardo, from whom he learned quite as much as Leonardo did from him. Dr. Bode, after a long and careful comparative study (see his *Italienischer Bildhauer der Renaissance*), attributes to Verrocchio a Madonna in the Berlin Museum, one in the Städel Institute of Frankfort, the fine Tobias with the three archangels in the Florentine Academy (see Dr. Gustave Frizzoni, who combats Dr. Bode in Vol. I. of the *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, p. 292), and the Tobias with a single angel in the National Gallery. He restores indeed to Verrocchio a whole group of pictures accorded to him by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but given by Morelli to the Pollajuoli. MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger accredit to Verrocchio, and reproduce in their *Florence*, p. 29, a Virgin, enthroned with saints, in the Uffizi.

brought from Rome, in his possession, had caused an exceedingly beautiful Marsyas, in white marble, fastened to a tree, and on the point of being flayed,[24] to be placed within the door of this garden or court where it borders on the Via de Ginori. This, Lorenzo, his nephew, desired to see accompanied by another Marsyas in *pietra rossa* (the torso and head of which had come into his hands), a work of high antiquity, and much greater beauty than that first mentioned; but the figure being so extensively mutilated, he could not effect his purpose, whereupon he gave the torso and head to Andrea Verrocchio,[25] that this master might restore it, and he completed it so perfectly, adding the legs, thighs, and arms that were wanting to that figure, in pieces of red marble, that Lorenzo was highly satisfied, and caused the statue to be placed in face of the other on the opposite side of the door. The antique torso of this Marsyas was executed with such minute care and thought, that certain slender white veins in the red stone had been turned to account by the artist, and made to seem like those small nerves discovered in the human form when the skin has been removed, a circumstance that must have given this work a most life-like appearance when in its original perfection.*

The Venetians at this time, desiring to do honour to the distinguished valour of Bartolommeo da Bergamo, who had obtained for them many great victories, resolved to raise a monument to his name, hoping thereby to encourage other leaders. Having heard the renown of Andrea, they therefore invited him to Venice, where he was commissioned to execute an equestrian statue of the commander above-named,

* "*Quando aveva il suo primiero pulimento*" should be translated "when it had its first polish."

[24] See the Life of Donatello, p. 316 of Vol. I.

[25] M. Müntz expresses surprise that Lorenzo should have set this task to a man so little in real sympathy with antique art as was Verrocchio. Milanesi doubts the attribution to Verrocchio, as restorer, of the second Marsyas in the Uffizi, believing this Marsyas to be rather the one given by Don Virginio Orsini. (See Vol. III., p. 367, note 1.) Herr von Fabriczy, *op. cit.*, says that the two *torsi* of Marsyas at present in the gallery are not those restored by Verrocchio and Donatello.

which was to be placed on the Piazza of SS. Giovanni and Paolo. The master accordingly, having prepared the model, was proceeding to take the necessary measures for casting it in bronze, when, by the favour of certain persons among the Venetian nobles, it was determined that Vellano of Padua should execute the figure of the general, and Andrea Verrocchio that of the horse only; but the latter no sooner heard this, than having first broken the head and legs of his mould, he returned in great anger to Florence without saying a word. His departure being told to the Signoria, they caused him to understand that he should never dare again to enter Venice, for if he did so they would take off his head. To this menace the master wrote in reply, that he would take care not to return, seeing that when they had once taken off his head, it would be beyond their power to give him another, nor could they ever get as good a one put on the horse, whose head he had broken, as he would have made for it. Notwithstanding this reply, which did not displease those rulers, Andrea was afterwards induced to return to Venice, when his appointments were doubled. He then restored his first model, and cast it in bronze, but did not entirely finish it, for having taken cold, when he had exposed himself to much fatigue and heat in casting the work, he died in Venice after a few days' illness.[26] Nor was this undertaking, which wanted but a little

[26] The celebrated *condottiere*, Bartolommeo Colleone, who was captain of the Venetian forces, died (1476), leaving to the republic 216,000 gold florins, besides household effects, plate, horses, etc., on condition that his equestrian statue should be erected in the square of St. Mark. The Signory was perplexed; an old statute forbade the encumbering of the (then) small piazza with monuments, and Venetian jealousy grudged granting so great an honor to any individual; but at length the Signory, always fertile in shifts and compromises, decided to place the statue on the square of the *Scuola* di San Marco, adjoining the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, thus adhering to the letter of the will and depriving the great piazza of a magnificent ornament. This statue of Colleone is one of the mysteries, as it is one of the triumphs, of the Renaissance. How could Verrocchio, often so tentative and apparently hesitating, produce this magnificently sure and perfect masterpiece? Much in it is certainly characteristic of him, but combined with the life which is seen in his *Putto* of the fountain of the Palazzo Vecchio, and something of the angularity

to its completion, and was placed in its destined position, the only one he thus left unfinished :[27] there was another

of his David, there is a grandeur and a fire which he never approaches in his other works. If Leopardi the Venetian, who finished and signed it, deserves the greater part of the glory, why do his other artistic creations show no kinship with it? Verrocchio's will proves that he left the statue unfinished; but did he leave a model nearly completed, nearly ready for casting? He desired that Lorenzo di Credi should finish his work, but the Senate allotted its completion to Alessandro Leopardi. Leopardi inscribed the surcingle under the horse's belly with the words "*Alexander Leopardus v. f. opus.*" The *v. f.* may mean *venetus fecit* (made) or *venetus fudit* (cast). The Venetians called him "del Cavallo," and the Council of Ten say in their registers, "in behalf of this work we name and praise only our own Alessandro." This last has but little weight; any Venetian would have said as much of any Florentine who entered the lists with another Venetian, and in this case it must be remembered that the Signory had quarrelled with Verrocchio, who had died very suddenly after his return to Venice, as men were apt to do who were recalcitrant or rebellious. The inscription in S. Maria dell' Orto, on the grave of Leopardi, says that he was the maker of the pedestal, which is monumental and greatly enhances the effect of the statue. A document has been recently discovered in Florence which would seem to prove that Verrocchio really did leave a model which was sufficiently finished to be cast as his, Andrea's, work. In this document, dated October 7, 1488, Lorenzo di Credi states, first, that the statues of horse and man had been ordered of Verrocchio, at a price of 1,800 ducats; secondly, that at the time of his death Verrocchio had only made the model in clay for the *figures of horse and man*, for which 380 ducats had already been advanced; thirdly, that he, Lorenzo, had taken in charge the continuation of the work; fourthly, that he, Lorenzo, had handed over the said work to Giovanni d' Andrea di Domenico, a Florentine, to be finished. Later the work upon the statue was put into the hands of Alessandro Leopardi, but the important point which is proved by the document is that Verrocchio left the figures of horse and man practically ready for casting. Symonds has probably come nearer to the truth than any one in calling the Colleone "the joint production of Florentine science and Venetian fervor;" but we may fairly reduce Leopardi's share to the pedestal, the casting, and to such additions as may have enhanced the character of the statue, but not

[27] Dr. W. Bode has identified, as by Andrea, a small bronze relief (a Descent from the Cross) in the Church of the Carmine, Venice. From their resemblance in style to this relief Dr. Bode attributes to Andrea the Judgment of Paris in the Dreyfus collection, and the fine relief at S. Kensington called the Discordia. (See *L'Arch. Stor.*, 1893, p. 79.) The lovely colored relief in the Rattier collection, Paris, called a Scipio, is attributed by Dr. Bode to Verrocchio. See reproductions in Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, and in Vol. III. of the Prussian Annuary (*Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*). This relief has also been accredited to Leonardo.

also, which he was executing in Pistoja, the tomb of Cardinal Forteguerra namely, adorned with figures of the three Theological Virtues, and that of God the Father above them. This monument was afterwards completed by the Florentine sculptor, Lorenzetto.[28]

When Andrea Verrocchio died, he had attained to his fifty-sixth year;[29] his death caused very great sorrow to his friends and disciples, who were not a few, but more particularly to the sculptor Nanni Grosso, a very eccentric person, and peculiar in the exercise of his art, as well as in his life. It is related of this artist, that he would never undertake any work out of his workshop, more particularly for monks or friars, but on condition that the door of the cellar, or whatever place the wine was kept in, should be left constantly open, that he might go to drink whenever he pleased, without asking leave from any one. It is also said, that having once returned from the hospital of Santa Maria

changed it. For the character of this magnificent statue is Verrocchio's; its stern and virile beauty and its martial dignity are as much akin to the Florentine school as the luxuriant and facile style which Leopardi shows in his works elsewhere is characteristic of Venetian feeling. Certain critics have used the word *bravura* in writing of it, but here is not *bravura* but rather fire; something of Venetian splendor Leopardi may have added to the equipment and armor, in the widely flanging sides to the helmet and spreading curve of the shoulder-pieces, and something, too, he may have contributed of Venetian *superbia* to the attitude of the *condottiere* as he turns in his saddle. Something of inspiration may have come from the character of the soldier himself, whom Spina described in terse, monumental words, which might be graven on the bronze, "*Saldo passo, vista superba, resplendente per le ricche armi e pennachi sopra nobil corsiere, occhi neri, nella guardatura ed acutezza del lume, vivi, penetranti o terribili,*" but in spite of all this the stern and grave soldier rode forth from a Florentine brain, and the finest equestrian statue of the Renaissance remains to us as the Colleone of Andrea del Verrocchio.

[28] This was an honorary tomb, as he is buried in Rome. It was commenced in 1474; it is still *in situ*. Andrea himself sculptured only the figures of Hope, and of God the Father; perhaps, indeed, only made the models for them. For an interesting note regarding the preference shown by the *operai* of the Pistojan Duomo for certain models of Pollajuolo over those of Andrea, see Milanesi, III., 369, note 1. Lorenzo Lotti, the Lorenzetto of Vasari, finished the tomb.

[29] Verrocchio was buried in the church of Sant' Ambrogio, in Florence.

Nuova, perfectly cured of some illness, I know not what, his reply to his friends when they came to visit and congratulate him was, "I am very ill." "Ill!" they replied, "nay, you are perfectly cured." "And that is precisely wherefore I am ill," rejoined Nanni, "for I am in want of a little fever, that I might remain in the hospital, well attended and at my ease." When this artist was at the point of death, which happened in the hospital aforesaid, they placed a wooden crucifix before him, which was clumsy and ill executed, when he implored them to take it out of his sight and bring him one by Donato, declaring, that if they did not take that one from before him, he should die despairing, so greatly did the sight of ill-executed works in his own art displease him.

Among the disciples of Andrea Verrocchio were Piero Perugino and Leonardo da Vinci, of whom we shall speak in the proper place, as was also the Florentine Francesco di Simone, by whom there is a marble tomb, with numerous small figures, in the church of San Domenico, in Bologna; the manner of this work is so exactly similar to that of Andrea, that it might be taken for his: the monument was erected for the doctor Messer Alessandro Tartaglia of Imola. Francesco likewise erected another for Messer Pietro Minerbetti, in the church of San Pancrazio, in Florence; it stands between one of the chapels and the sacristy. Another disciple of Andrea Verrocchio was Agnolo di Polo, who worked in terra-cotta with great skill. The city is full of figures by his hand, and if he had devoted himself zealously to the study of his art he would have produced admirable works. But more than all his other disciples was Lorenzo di Credi beloved by his master, whose remains were by him conveyed from Venice, and deposited in the church of Sant' Ambrogio, in the sepulchre of Ser Michele di Cione, where the following words are engraved above the tombstone.

"Ser Michaelis de Cionis et suorum."

And near them are the following :

" Hic ossa jacent Andreæ Verrochii qui
Obiit Venetiis, MCCCCLXXXVIII." *

Andrea took much pleasure in making models of gypsum, from which he might take casts ; he made his moulds from a soft stone found in the neighbourhood of Volterra, Siena, and other parts of Italy, which, being burnt in the fire, pounded finely, and kneaded with water, is rendered so soft and smooth, that you may make it into whatever form you please ; but afterwards it becomes so close and hard, that entire figures may be cast in moulds formed of it. Andrea, therefore, adopted the practice of casting in moulds thus prepared, such natural objects as he desired to have continually before his eyes, for the better and more convenient imitation of them in his works—hands, feet, the knee, the arm, the torso, &c. Artists afterwards—but in his time—began to make casts of the heads of those who died, a thing they could by this means do at but little cost ;[30] whence it

* This inscription had already disappeared in 1657, but an old author claims that Vasari mistook for "*Ser*" an S, which really meant *Sepulcrum*. (See Milanesi III. p., 372.)

[30] He was not the first, though among the first, to make these masks. "The sobriquet of *Fallimagini*, or *Del Cerajuolo*, borne by the Benintendi family in token of their profession, proves that such had been made in Florence before Verrocchio's day. These figures resembled those which the Romans, who had obtained the *jus imaginum*, were accustomed to place in the *atria* of their houses" (C. C. Perkins, Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture). Perkins considers the subject of the invention of the modern system of making plaster-casts at length in his Tuscan Sculptors, II., 200–205. In a list of works executed by Verrocchio for the Medici (see Cornelius von Fabriczy, *L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, VIII., 166) there figures the following entry : "For twenty masks taken from nature" ("*per ventj maschere ritratti al naturale*"). The only absolutely authenticated death-mask which has come down to us from the Renaissance is that of Brunelleschi, in the director's office of the Opera del Duomo in Florence ; but there are in the museums of Aix, Chambery, Berlin, Bourges, Carpentras, Puy-en-Vélay, and Villeneuve les Avignon, as well as in South Kensington and in the collection of M. L. Courajod, certain heads in which only the face and anterior portion of the skull are shown, and which undoubtedly were made from masks that were first taken directly as casts from the face, and were then retouched by the sculptor's tool until they became works of art. The well-known busts of Sant' Antonino,

is that one sees in every house in Florence vast numbers of these likenesses, over the chimneys, doors, windows, and cornices, many of them so well done and so natural that they seem alive ; and from that time forward this custom prevailed, nay, continues to do so, and has been of great value to us, by enabling us to procure the portraits of many, whose figures appear in the historical paintings executed for the palace of Duke Cosimo.[31] We are indeed greatly indebted for this advantage to the skill of Andrea Verrocchio, who was one of the first to put the practice into execution.

From this commencement, artists proceeded to execute more perfectly-finished figures for those who required them for the performance of vows, not in Florence only, but in all places wherein men congregate for devotion, and where they offer votive pictures, or, as some call them, *miracoli*, when they have received any particular favour or benefit.[32]

in S. M. Novella of Florence, and of Contessina de' Bardi (formerly called Annalena Visconti), in the Bargello, belong to this same series. Several critics have pointed out the analogy existing between these mask-busts and the busts of Beatrice of Arragon (Dreyfus collection), Marietta Strozzi (Berlin), and Battista Sforza (Bargello). The only actual waxen image left to us is the very beautiful one in the Musée Wicar of Lille, where it was for a time attributed to Raphael. Herr von Fabriczy notes that certain writers, basing their theory upon a fifteenth-century drawing in the Albertina of Vienna, which seems to have been taken from the features of a dead girl, connect this bust in Lille with the series of death-masks ; but he adds that the intrinsic character of the work at Lille shows it to be of the end of the sixteenth, or even of the beginning of the seventeenth, century.

[31] Vasari described these works at some length in his *Ragionamento Primo*, *Giornata Seconda.*

[32] It is needless to say that the wax images have perished. There is, however, a most extraordinary collection of these votive figures, which still remains in a church founded by one of the Visconti a few miles outside of Mantua. Several bays on either side of the nave of the church, from the pointed vaulting to the pavement, are filled with life-size votive figures of men and women ; there are images of lords and ladies, burgesses, and of angels who are taking part in various miraculous events. Originally these figures wore the dresses and armor of the fifteenth century, but as the stuffs have fallen away they have been in part replaced by cheaper fabrics, so that cambric and calico piece out the tattered brocades. Each wax figure is in its niche, and each niche is bordered with waxen fruits and flowers. The effect is strange and

For whereas these miracoli were previously made in silver, very small, or, if larger, in coarse pictures only, or made most clumsily in wax, they began in the time of Andrea to make them in a much better manner; wherefore Verrocchio, being the intimate friend of Orsino, a worker in wax, who was considered in Florence to be very skilful in his vocation, undertook to show him how he might render himself eminent. It chanced that an occasion for the display of Orsino's skill soon presented itself, for on the death of Giuliano de' Medici,[33] and the danger incurred by his brother Lorenzo, who was wounded at the same time, in Santa Maria del Fiore, it was ordained by the friends and relations of Lorenzo that many figures of him should be made and set up in various places, by way of thanksgiving to God for his safety. Then Orsino, among others, with the help of Andrea, made three figures in wax, of the size of life, forming the skeleton in wood, as we have before described, and completing it with split reeds. This frame-work was then covered with waxed cloth, folded and arranged with so much beauty and elegance that nothing better or more true to nature could be seen. The head, hands, and feet were afterwards formed in wax of greater thickness, but hollow within; the features were copied from the life, and the whole was painted in oil with such ornaments and additions of the hair and other things as were required, all which being entirely natural and perfectly well done, no longer appeared to be figures of wax, but living men, as may be seen in each of the three here alluded to. One of these is in the church which belongs to the Nuns of Chiarito, in the Via di San Gallo: it stands before the Crucifix by which miracles are performed, and is clothed in the habiliments worn by Lorenzo when, wounded in the throat and with that part bound up, he appeared at the window of his palace to show himself to the people, who had flocked thither to

rather grisly; but the whole exhibition is an interesting survival, though it is sadly in need of Maestro Orsino's restoring hand.

[33] In 1478, in the Pazzi conspiracy.

assure themselves whether he were alive, as they desired, or whether he were dead, to the end that in the latter case they might avenge him. The second figure of Lorenzo is attired in the *lucco,* which is a dress peculiar to the Florentine citizens, and this is in the church of the Servites, the Nunziata, namely: it stands over the smaller door where the wax lights are sold. The third was sent to Assisi for the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and was placed before the Madonna of that place[34] where the same Lorenzo de' Medici, as we have related, had caused the whole road to be paved with bricks all the way from Santa Maria to that gate of Assisi which leads towards San Francesco. He had likewise restored the fountains which Cosimo, his grandfather, had caused to be constructed there. But to return to the waxen images. All those in the Church of the Servites which have a capital O in the base, with the letter R within it and a cross above, are by the hand of Orsino, and are all exceedingly beautiful; there are, indeed, very few who have equalled them. This art, although it has maintained its existence to our own times, is nevertheless rather on the decline than otherwise, either because there is less devotion than formerly, or for some other cause.

We will now return to Verrocchio. In addition to all that we have already enumerated, this master executed crucifixes in wood, with various works in terra-cotta.[35] In

[34] See the life of Michelozzo Michelozzi, p. 15, note 32, of the present volume.

[35] In the various collections of Europe a great number of works are attributed to Verrocchio. Dr. Bode and H. von Tschudi attribute to him many in the Museum of Berlin. According to Dr. Bode the latter museum has several *maquettes* by Verrocchio, among which are a study for the David of the Bargello, a larger study of a Sleeping Youth, a painted and gilded Praying Magdalen, and a small *relief*, the Entombment, two recumbent children (reproduced in the artist's sketch-book) at Chantilly, and portraits in *relief* of Matthias Corvinus and Beatrice of Arragon. A statuette of St. Jerome and a Crucifix, in the Museum of South Kensington, are attributed to him, while in the collection of M. Gustave Dreyfus two terra-cottas, a child and a bust of Giuliano de' Medici, and a marble bust of a young woman are also accredited to Verrocchio.

this last he was an excellent artist, as may be seen from the models for the reliefs of the altar of San Giovanni, as also from certain very beautiful figures of children and a bust of St. Jerome, which is considered most admirable. By the hand of the same master is the figure of the boy on the clock of the *Mercato Nuovo* (New Market), the arm of which is left free, in a manner which permits the figure to raise it for the purpose of striking the hours with the hammer which it holds in the hand. This was in those times considered a beautiful and fanciful work.

And here shall be the end of the life of the excellent sculptor Andrea Verrocchio.[36] [37] [38]

[36] The principal pupils of Verrocchio were Leonardo da Vinci, Perugino, Lorenzo di Credi, Francesco di Simone Ferrucci, Agnolo di Polo, and Nanni Grosso.

[37] There is in the Uffizi a portrait of Verrocchio by Lorenzo di Credi. This work was formerly considered a portrait of Martin Luther by Holbein the Younger; in 1784 the attribution was restored to Lorenzo di Credi, and Milanesi recognized it as a portrait of Verrocchio after comparing the features with those which Vasari had engraved after this very picture. (See Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, p. 34.)

[38] Andrea is the investigator-artist, the experimentalist, the man with whom science is a passion, and therein he is quintessentially Florentine. He is a realist in the flat arms and shins, the salient collar-bone and thick knees of his David, and is thereby attractive to the modern student of art; but while he is an intent observer he is also intensely personal, and in his choice of a facial type is so individual as to have become the genesis of that of Leonardo da Vinci. His science sometimes became genius, for, interesting in his David, he is charming in his Boy with the Dolphin, inspiring and inspired in his magnificent Colleone, who rides straight to immortality as *the Magister Equitum* of the Renaissance. Verrocchio the painter, again an experimentalist, was an innovator in landscape, says Mr. Bernard Berenson in his Florentine Painters of the Renaissance, adding "a vision of *plein air*," even though a vague one, "seems to have hovered before" Verrocchio, and that he felt the possibilities of expression offered by twilight, and for that reason deliberately chose the closing hours of the day in rendering the background of his Annunciation in the Uffizi. Like Browning's Pollajuolo, Andrea was "thrice a craftsman," and was one of the last of those typical "all-around artists" who stand upon the threshold of a time when the greatest talent is about to instinctively run into the channel of painting alone with Botticelli, Signorelli, Ghirlandajo, and Perugino, and no artist more admirably represents the period of the Middle Renaissance.

THE MANTUAN PAINTER, ANDREA MANTEGNA [1]

[Born 1431; died 1506.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—*Sul Merito Artistico del Mantegna, da P. E. Selvatico*, Padua, 1844. Milanesi bases his notes to the life of Mantegna upon these researches of the Marquis P. E. Selvatico, the latter having placed the unpublished results of his studies in the hands of the former author. Armand Baschet (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, First Period, XX., May, 1866), by his *Recherches de documents d'Art et d'Histoire dans les Archives de Mantoue et analyse de lettres inédites regardantes André Mantegna*, became the pioneer of the later biographers of Andrea, and Paul Mantz followed with his admirable series of articles in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Second Period, XXX., pp. 5, 177, 480; XXXIV., pp. 6, 107, 208, 375. *Scardeone's Antiquitates Patavinae* (1585) is an early source; see also Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell' Arte*, and among the modern works are Alfred Woltmann's *Andrea Mantegna* in the Dohme series of *Kunst und Künstler*. Waagen, *Ueber Leben, Wirken u. Werke der Maler A. Mantegna und L. Signorelli*, Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1850. Carlo d'Arco, *Delle Arti e degli Artefici di Mantova*, 1857-8. G. Duplessis, *Œuvre de Mantegna*, Paris, 1878. Braghirolli, *Alcuni Documenti relativi ad A. Mantegna*, *Giornale d'Erudizione Artistica*, Vol. I., p. 184, Perugia, 1872. Charles Yriarte, *Les Gonzagues dans les Fresques du Mantegna au Castello Vecchio de Mantoue*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1894, II., pp. 5, 115. Charles Yriarte, *Isabella d'Este et les Artistes de son temps*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1895. Julia Cartwright, Mantegna and Francia, London, 1881. E. Müntz, *Andrea Mantegna e Piero della Francesca studio sulla predella della pala di San Zeno nel museo del Louvre e in quello di Tours*, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II., 273. Karl Brun, *Neue Documente über Andrea Mantegna*, in the *Zeitschrift für Bildende kunst*, Vol. XI., Leipsic, 1875-6. Portioli, *La Chiesa e la Madonna della Vittoria di A. Mantegna in Mantova*, Mantua, 1883. Cornelius von Fabriczy, *Il busto in rilievo di Mantegna attribuito allo Sperandio*, article in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., 428. C. von Fabriczy, *Sur le buste de Mantegna et sur une médaille de Sperandio*, in the *Courrier de l'Art*, 1888, n. 42. Vicomte Henri Delaborde, *La gravure en Italie avant Marc Antoine*. S. Davari, *Lo stemma di Andrea Mantegna*, article in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., 81. Portheim, *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, VII., and *Repertorium für Kunstwissen-*

schaft, 1886. *Le Arti in Roma sotto il pontificato d'Innocenzo VIII.* (1484-1492), article by E. Müntz in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II., 478-485. H. Duke, Triumph of Julius Cæsar, etc., London, 1858.

THE powerful effect produced on talent by reward, is known to every man who, having laboured conscientiously, has received the due return for his works. He who has ground to hope for honour and reward from the effort he is making, feels no inconvenience, suffers no pain, acknowledges no weariness; he becomes daily more confirmed in power, and his talents attain evermore increased worth and brightness. It is, indeed, true that merit does not always find those who perceive and estimate its value, as did that of Andrea Mantegna. Born in the neighbourhood of Mantua, of a very lowly race,[1] and occupied during his childhood in the tending of flocks, he was eventually so exalted by fate and his own abilities that he at length attained the condition of knighthood, as in its due place will be related. When he had nearly reached his full growth Andrea was taken to the city, where he studied painting under Jacopo Squarcione,[2] of Padua, who took him into his own house, and in a short time after, perceiving his remarkable abilities, adopted him as his son. This we learn from

[1] His name was Andrea di Ser Biagio, and Comm. B. Cecchetti cites a document of January 2, 1462 (*Arch. Ven.*, *Fasc.* 57, 1885, p. 195), which mentions Andrea not as a Paduan but as a Vicentine. He quotes "*Andream Blasii Mentegna de Vincentia pictorem.*" Another MS. cites the painter as *Andreas Mantegna q. honorandi Ser Blaxii.* He was therefore not of especially "lowly race," as Vasari has it. M. Müntz doubts the exactness of such fifteenth-century documents and inclines to believe Andrea a Paduan.

[2] Andrea appears to have been regularly adopted in 1441 by Francesco (not Jacopo) Squarcione, who was the most popular teacher in North Italy, having, like a modern French master, a studio full of pupils (he had one hundred and thirty-seven scholars, says Masselli). Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle call him "an *impresario*," and in fact his collection of antiquities, put, as it was, to the uses of his pupils; and his pupils themselves, Mantegna especially, have given him far more celebrity than have any of his own works. Squarcione was born in Padua in 1394, and died there in 1474. The two works which, according to Milanesi, may with certainty be ascribed to this painter, belong to the Lazzari family of Padua, and are reproduced by Milanesi in *Francesco Squarcione, Studio Storico-critico*, Padua, 1838.

a letter written in Latin by Messer Girolamo Campagnuola to Messer Lionico Timeo, a Greek philosopher;[3] wherein he gives the latter notices respecting certain old painters who had executed works for the Carrara family, of Padua. But as Squarcione knew himself to be not the most distinguished painter in the world, and to the end that Andrea might know more than he did himself, he caused him to work diligently from casts moulded on antique statues, and after pictures on canvas, which he had brought from various places, more particularly from Tuscany and Rome. By these and other methods of the same kind Andrea Mantegna acquired a fair amount of knowledge in his youth: he was also assisted and stimulated in no slight degree by his emulation of Marco Zoppo, of Bologna, Dario, of Treviso, and Niccolò Pizzolo, of Padua, all disciples of his adoptive father and master.[4] Mantegna was not more than seventeen years old when he painted the picture for the High Altar in the Church of Santa Sofia,[5] in Padua, a work which might be taken for that of an old experienced master rather than that of a youth, and Squarcione, who was then commissioned to paint the Chapel of San Christofano (one of those in the Church of the "Eremite Brothers"* of Sant' Agostino, in Padua), gave this work to the above-named Niccolò Pizzolo and to Andrea.[6] For his part,

* Read *Eremitani.*

[3] Tomeo, not Timeo, was an Albanian, and became professor of Greek at Padua.

[4] Squarcione was his first master; his brothers-in-law, the Bellini, influenced him; he imitated Piero della Francesca in at least one picture—the Resurrection; Paolo Uccello initiated him into linear perspective and foreshortening; but Donatello impressed him more strongly than did any other of his predecessors or contemporaries, so that, according to M. Müntz, "the principal pupil of the great sculptor, the one who does him the most honor, is Mantegna; that is to say a painter."

[5] This picture, now lost, was once inscribed, *Andreas mantinea patavinus ann. septem et decem natus, sua manu pinxit 1448.* It thus proved that the painter was born in 1431.

[6] This series of paintings constitutes Mantegna's chief work in fresco. The subjects, painted in the Chapel of Saints James and Christopher in the Church of the Augustinians (the *Eremitani*), Padua, are as follows: The

Niccolò painted a figure of God the Father enthroned in majesty between the Doctors of the Church, and this part of the work was considered to be no less meritorious than that executed by Andrea. There is, indeed, no doubt that Niccolò, who produced very little, but all whose works are very good, would have been an excellent master had he delighted in painting as he did in martial exercises: in that case he might besides have lived much longer than he did; but having constantly arms in his hands, and making many enemies, he was one day attacked as he returned from his work and treacherously slain. He left no other production, that I am acquainted with, but a second figure of God the Father, which is in the Chapel of Urbano Prefetto.*

Andrea Mantegna[7] was then left alone to complete the chapel, and he painted there the figures of the four Evangelists, which are considered very beautiful.[8] These and

Temptation of St. James, The Calling of St. James, St. James Baptizing, St. James Before the Prefect, St. James Led to Execution, The Martyrdom of St. James, The Martyrdom of St. Christopher, The Removal of the Body of St. Christopher. There are other frescoes in the chapel, among which the fine works in the choir are attributed by Woltmann and Woerman to Niccolò Pizzolo. They accredit to Marco Zoppo the two upper pictures on the right wall, St. Christopher Meeting the King, and St. Christopher Disputing with the King; while the St. Christopher Adored by Warriors is by Ansuino da Forli. Buono, a Ferrarese painter, is also accredited by Milanesi with part of the work on the upper walls. Milanesi considers these frescoes to have been executed between 1453-1459; M. Müntz says between 1448-1460; Paul Mantz says "somewhat later than 1453." Crowe and Cavalcaselle (History of Painting in North Italy, I., 306–349) give a long description of the paintings and decide that the vaulting frescoes are not by Mantegna. The frescoes of Andrea here form a marking series in the history of Italian art, so that the Chapel of the Eremitani became a sort of Brancacci Chapel of the North, that is to say, a school-room for the study of style. The word frescoes is for convenience used throughout the life of Mantegna, but it is to be noted that his wall-paintings are not in real fresco but are painted in *tempera* upon a dry mortar surface (*stucco lucido*). See Morelli, Italian Painters, II., p. 176, note 3.

* Vasari has *Urbano Prefetto;* it should read instead, *Prefetto Urbano*, the Urban Prefect. Pizzolo's fresco is an Assumption.

[7] The young soldier who holds a spear and stands close by the St. Christopher bound to a tree is supposed to represent Andrea Mantegna himself.

[8] The real author of the Evangelists is unknown; Messrs. Crowe and Caval-

other works caused great expectations to be awakened respecting the future excellence of their author, and hopes were then conceived that he would in time attain the eminence to which he afterwards did, in fact, rise. Measures were therefore adopted by the Venetian painter, Jacopo Bellini, father of Gentile and Giovanni, and rival of Squarcione, to the end that Andrea might take his daughter and the sister of Gentile for his wife.[9] But when this was told to Squarcione he was so much displeased with Andrea that they were ever afterwards enemies: and whereas Squarcione had previously much extolled the works of Andrea, he from that time always publicly censured them with violence equal to his former warmth. He found fault more especially with those in the above-named Chapel of San Cristofano, affirming that they had nothing good in them because Andrea had therein copied from antique marbles, from which no man can perfectly acquire the art of painting, seeing that stone must ever attain somewhat of the rigidity of its nature, and never displays that tender softness proper to flesh and natural forms, which are pliant and exhibit various movements. He added that Andrea would have done much better with those figures if he had given them the tint of marble and not all those colours: they would then have been nearer to perfection, since they had no resemblance to the life, but were rather imitations of ancient statues in marble, and so forth.[10] Andrea was deeply

caselle suggest Marco Zoppo. Paul Mantz (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1886) reproduces three panels in M. Edmond André's collection in Paris, showing scenes from the Eremitani frescoes, and thinks they may be the panels mentioned by Morelli's *Anonimo* as in Casa Contarini, Venice.

[9] He married Niccolosa (or Niccolosia) Bellini somewhere between 1453–59. Mantz sees in the two Eremitani frescoes the Martyrdom and the Funeral of St. Christopher, a progress in color which he ascribes indirectly to this marriage, and directly to the color influence of Niccolosa's father and brothers.

[10] The fact remains that in these frescoes Mantegna suddenly relinquished his Roman costumes and returned to the dress of the fifteenth century. This change was probably due not to Squarcione's reproaches but to Andrea's intercourse with the Bellini, artists who instinctively copied contemporaneous

wounded by these disparaging remarks, but they were, nevertheless, of great service to him in some respects ; for, knowing that there was much truth in what Squarcione said, he began to draw from the life, and soon obtained so much advantage from the practice, that in a painting which still remained to be executed in the Chapel of San Cristofano, he proved himself no less capable of reproducing and extracting the best parts from living and natural objects than from those formed by art. But notwithstanding this, Andrea was always of opinion that good antique statues were more perfect and displayed more beauty in the different parts than is exhibited by nature, which rarely assembles and unites every beauty in one single form, wherefore it becomes necessary to take one part from one and another part from another. He thought, moreover, that the muscles, veins, nerves, and other minute particulars were more distinctly marked and more clearly defined in statues than in nature, wherein the tenderness and softness of the flesh, concealing and covering a certain sharpness of outline, thus causes them to be less apparent. There is, without doubt, an exception, in the case of old and much attenuated forms, but these are avoided by artists from respect to other considerations. That Andrea was firmly wedded to his opinion is, indeed, obvious from his works, the manner of which is certainly somewhat hard, and not unfrequently recalls the idea of stone rather than of living flesh. But, be this as it may, in the last of the paintings above described he gave infinite satisfaction ; and, among other figures, he there delineated that of Squarcione himself, a large corpulent man, having a spear in one hand and a sword in the other.[11] In the same work he portrayed the Florentine Noferi, son of Messer Palla Strozzi, with Messer Girolamo della Valle, an eminent physician ; Messer Bonifazio Fuzimeliga, doctor of

life (as well as the remains of antiquity). Squarcione probably resented Andrea's frequenting the rival school. It is not definitely known, however, whether any rupture took place between master and pupil.

[11] Squarcione is the soldier dressed in green.

laws; Niccolò, goldsmith to Pope Innocent VIII., and Baldassane da Leccio, all of whom were his intimate friends. These figures Mantegna clothed in glittering armour, shining and polished precisely as armour is in reality, and this picture is certainly in a very fine manner. The cavalier Messer Bonramino,[12] is also among the portraits in this work, as is, moreover, a certain Hungarian Bishop, a man altogether witless, who went rambling about Rome all day, and at night would go to sleep in the stable with the beasts. In the same chapel Andrea likewise depicted Marsilio Pazzo in the figure of the executioner, who cuts off the head of San Jacopo, together with a likeness of himself. The excellence of this work, in fine, obtained a very high reputation for its author.

While Andrea was occupied with the paintings of the Chapel of San Cristofano, he also executed a picture which was placed on the Altar of San Luca, in the Church of Santa Justina, and he afterwards painted the Arch over the door of Sant' Antonino, in fresco, a work to which he affixed his name.[13]

In Verona he painted the altar-piece of San Cristofano and that of Sant' Antonio, with certain figures on one side of the Piazza della Paglia.[14] In Santa Maria in Organo,

[12] Noferi (Onofrio) was son of the Florentine exile Palla Strozzi. Girolamo della Valle was a famous doctor, orator, and Latin poet of the Paduan University; Bonifazio Frigimelica (not Fuzimeliga) was a doctor of laws; Bonramino was undoubtedly a Borromeo, perhaps Antonio the theologian. See Milanesi quoting Selvatico.

[13] The work for Santa Giustina, Padua, was an altar-piece in many compartments, painted 1453–1454, and now in the Brera at Milan. The inscription over the door of Sant' Antonio is believed by Selvatico to have been added by the monks, not by Andrea, and reads as follows: *Andreas Mantinea optume favente numine perfecit anno 1452.*

[14] As to the works in Verona, nothing is known regarding the altar-piece of Saints Christopher and Anthony, nor of the frescoes in any so-called Piazza della Paglia. Andrea painted a picture for Santa Maria degli Organi in 1497. See following note. Certain frescoes on the outsides of buildings in Verona, and notably a combat of Tritons, are pointed out by the guides as by Mantegna, but most of them do not resemble his work and documentary evidence is lacking. A Madonna with Saints, painted 1495–1497, in Verona, is now in Casa Trivulzi, Milan. See Milanesi, III., 393, note 1.

Andrea Mantegna painted the picture of the high altar for the monks of Monte Oliveto, an exceedingly beautiful thing; and in like manner he executed that for the altar of San Zeno.[15] Among other works performed by Andrea during his stay in Verona, were many which he sent into different places: one of these, obtained by an abbot of the abbey of Fiesole,[16] his friend and relation, was a half-length figure of Our Lady with the Child in her arms, and heads of angels singing, which are painted with infinite grace: this picture is now in the library of the abbey, and has always been considered an extraordinary work. At the time when he was living in Mantua,[17] Andrea had been fre-

[15] Painted probably between 1457 and 1459 by order of the Protonotary, Gregorio Correr. See Baschet, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, May, 1866. This picture was taken to Paris in 1797, and restored to its place in 1840; the *predella* remained in France; the centre portion, a Crucifixion, being in the Louvre, the side panels, Christ in the Garden and the Resurrection, in the museum of Tours. The altar-piece is a Madonna enthroned, with angels above and saints on either side, in an architectural framing resembling that so much affected by Giambellino at Venice. The design and the composition of lines and masses are dignified and noble; the style that of Mantegna at his best; the color, though not lacking in strength and depth, is very eccentric in composition and scattered in effect.

[16] This picture is lost. A letter of July 5, 1466, from an Aldobrandini to Ludovico Gonzaga proves that Andrea visited Florence in that year. A picture of a Madonna and Child surrounded by angels, now in the Brera Gallery, passed for a work of the school of the Bellini until it was cleaned, when it proved to be a fine Mantegna. Sig. Gustavo Frizzoni thinks it may be the picture painted in 1485 for the Duchess of Ferrara. Paul Mantz finds this assumption far-fetched. It is *possibly* identical with the Fiesole Madonna, but nothing explains the journeys which it must perforce have made either from Ferrara or Fiesole. See *L'Illustrazione Italiana*, January 10, 1886; *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, May 1, 1886; G. Frizzoni, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, February, 1886, and A. Melani in *L'Art* for 1886.

[17] Sig. S. Davari (*l'Arch. Stor.*, I., 81–2) quotes a MS. proving that Andrea was a familiar figure of the Mantuan Court by January 30, 1469. Andrea was invited to Mantua as early as 1456, but probably did not begin work there before 1460. The duke conferred upon him, to be used publicly, the arms of the Gonzaga family (with slight changes, "*modicum differente*"), viz.: the sun and the motto, "*Par un desir*," arms assumed by Gonzaga after the battle of Caravaggio. Armand Baschet showed that Mantegna arrived in Mantua about the end of 1459; in 1466 he returned to Mantua from a visit to Florence, and in 1472 visited Bologna and Cardinal Gonzaga. From 1499 to 1506 the Mantuan archives are silent regarding Andrea.

quently employed by the Marquis Ludovico Gonzaga, who always favoured him and esteemed his talents very highly. That noble caused him therefore to paint, among other works, a small picture for the chapel in the castle of Mantua;[18] the figures in this work are not very large, but are exceedingly beautiful. In the same painting * are various forms, which, as seen from below, are foreshortened in a manner that has been much extolled;[19] and although the draperies are somewhat hard, and the work has a certain dryness of manner, the whole is nevertheless seen to be executed with much art and great care. For the same marquis, Andrea painted the Triumph of Cæsar (1492), in a hall of the palace of San Sebastiano, in Mantua. This is the best work ever executed by his hand.[20] Here are seen

* The word *painting* in Mrs. Foster's translation is *luogo* in the original, and should be translated *place*, thus restoring the sense, since "the small picture" for the chapel has no connection with the large figures of the *Camera degli sposi*.

[18] Probably identical with the triptych containing the Adoration of the Magi, the Circumcision, and the Resurrection, painted in 1464, and now in the Uffizi. The right-hand panel is a *chef-d'œuvre*, and one of the best works of the Renaissance.

[19] This is the room known as the *Camera degli sposi*, a chamber now the *Archivio dei notari* in the ducal palace of Mantua. The frescoes were probably not finished before 1484. Two walls are ruined, a third greatly injured, a fourth, well preserved, shows Ludovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, third of that name, and one of the most enlightened art patrons of the Renaissance, with his wife, Barbara of Brandenburg, and his children and courtiers. On another wall is a second family group. The ceiling is fairly preserved, the dormers have mythological subjects; eight medallions in the covings have monochrome heads of emperors surrounded by wreaths held by winged boys (*amorini*). Through a circle in the centre, figures in violent foreshortening against a painted sky look down over a balustrade. These frescoes show Mantegna as a realist. The portrait figures are of a monumental ugliness, which impresses at once by its sincerity, and a dignity that is half-grotesque and half-majestic. It is interesting to compare this solemn realistic ugliness with the solemn ideal beauty of Mantegna's Judith in the Academy; it has only been given to three or four masters to run such a gamut. The foreshortened figures in the ceiling, in their movements and drawing, prepare the way for Correggio, and afford a precedent to the Venetians for their effects of *trompe l'œil*. See *Les Gonzagues dans les Fresques du Mantegna*, etc. C. Yriarte, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, II., 1894.

[20] Campori, in *Lettere ined.*, gives a letter from Sigismondo Cantelmo to the

in most admirable arrangement the rich and beautiful triumphal car with the figure, who is vituperating the triumphant hero ; as also the kindred, the perfumes, the incense-bearers, the booty, and treasures seized by the soldiers, the well-ordered phalanx, the elephants, the spoils of art, the victories, cities, and fortresses, exhibited in admirably counterfeited forms, on huge cars, the numerous trophies borne aloft on spears, an infinite variety of helmets, corslets, and arms of all kinds, with ornaments, vases, and rich vessels innumerable. Among the multitude of spectators,

Duke of Ferrara (February, 1501) which describes the performance of the "Adelphi" of Terence and comedies of Plautus in the Castle of Mantua. The theatre was a long rectangular room decorated with arabesques, the stage was hung with six pictures of the Triumph of Cæsar, and the hall contained other works by Mantegna. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think that the cartoons could hardly have been intended for this express purpose or for theatrical decoration, as their paleness was rather adapted for daylight than for the light of lamps and candles. See their History of Painting in North Italy, I., 405. Such a criticism hardly holds. Paleness of coloring would show well by torchlight, but the multiplicity of delicate detail in the cartoons would, on the other hand, weaken the general effect. The Triumphs of Petrarch, also by Mantegna, which decorated the parapet of the stage, have perished. The Triumph of Cæsar has been imitated by Giulio Romano in his cartoons for tapestry, by Holbein in his Triumph of Poverty and Riches, and by Le Brun. See M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, 601. This Triumph of Cæsar, one of the greatest works of the Renaissance, was painted in *tempera* in nine cartoons, each about nine feet square, and was already begun in 1488 and finished in 1492. It is now in Hampton Court Palace, England. Milanesi (III., 399) quotes documents discovered by W. Neil Sainbourg in the English archives, and others found by Baschet in the Mantuan archives, proving that the cartoons were not stolen in the sack of Mantua in 1630, but sold a little earlier (*circa* 1626) by the Gonzaghe to King Charles I. of England. After his death they were held by the nation, and in the eighteenth century were much disfigured by a "restorer," who altered the character of many of the heads. Andrea has himself engraved some of the subjects from the Triumph. Milanesi proves that he commenced it before his visit to Rome, quoting a letter in which Mantegna recommends that the windows shall be repaired and the cartoons protected, since "I really am not ashamed of having painted them." These cartoons are a superb exposition of what Andrea loved best to study and express; they are the very quintessence of his genius. Symonds, in his History of the Renaissance, becomes eloquent over the man who "could move thus majestically beneath the weight of painfully accumulated erudition, converting an antiquarian motive into a theme for melodies conceived in the grave Dorian mood."

there is a woman who holds a child by the hand, the boy has got a thorn in his foot, and this he shows weeping to his mother, with much grace and in a very natural manner.

This master, as I have remarked elsewhere, has displayed much judgment and forethought in this work, for the plane on which the figures stand being higher than the point of sight, he therefore placed the feet of the foremost on the first line of the plane, causing the others to recede gradually, so that their feet and legs are lost to view in the exact proportions required; and in like manner with the spoils, vases, and other accessories and ornaments, of which he permits only the lower part to be seen, the upper part being lost to view, as the rules of perspective demand,—a precaution observed with equal care by Andrea degl' Impiccati in the Last Supper, which he painted in the refectory of Santa Maria Nuova.[21] We perceive, then, that these excellent masters carefully enquired into the various properties of natural objects, and imitated the life with studious care. As to this work of Mantegna, to say all in one word, it could not possibly be superior or more perfectly executed, wherefore if the marquis esteemed our artist before, he valued and honoured him much more highly ever

[21] Vasari does not mention Mantegna's important so-called Triumph of Scipio, which is in reality a Scipio Nasica, followed by other figures and advancing to meet the image of the mother of the gods. It is as Roman as his Triumph of Cæsar, but is a work of his old age, and, says Paul Mantz, shows here and there that his hand was somewhat tired. He contracted in 1504 to paint it for Francesco Cornaro, the Venetian patrician who claimed descent from the Cornelian *gens*. The Scipio was painted after Andrea's Roman journey, at a time when his works showed an almost monochromatic austerity of color. It is in the National Gallery, as are also another monochrome, Samson and Delilah, a large altar-piece (Virgin with Saints), and a Christ in the Garden, painted in 1459 for Giacomo Marcello, Podestà of Padua. At about the same time, though with no apparent mutual relation, Andrea Mantegna and Melozzo da Forlì began the manner of painting ceilings called "*di sotto in su*" (from below upward), as if real objects were seen from below. Correggio carried this principle into his frescoes of Parma, and violent foreshortening in ceilings obtained largely throughout the later sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

after.[22] But what is more, Andrea so increased his reputation thereby, that Pope Innocent VIII., having finished the building of the Belvidere, and having been informed respecting the excellence of this master in painting, hearing also of the other good qualities with which he was admirably endowed sent for him, as he did for many other artists, to the end that he might adorn the fabric with his paintings.

Repairing to Rome, therefore, Andrea Mantegna went much favoured and highly recommended by the marquis, who, to do him the more honour made him a knight.[23] He was very amicably received by the pontiff, by whom he was immediately commissioned to decorate a small chapel[24] which is in the palace. This he accomplished with so much care and good-will, that the walls and ceiling, minutely and elaborately adorned as they are, would rather seem to be painted in miniature, than decorated in fresco. The largest figures of this work, like all the rest in fresco, are those above the altar, where the master has depicted the Baptism of Christ by St. John : around the principal figures are numbers of people who, divesting themselves of their clothing, show their intention to be baptized. Among others, there is one, who is attempting to draw off his stocking, but the dampness of the skin from the heat of his person, causing it to cling to the leg, he has turned it over, laying his foot over the other leg, and drawing off the stock-

[22] Mantegna probably painted many frescoes at various hunting-seats and villas of the Gonzaghe. One of these places, Marmirolo (or Marmiruolo), was still remarkable in Louis XIV.'s time for "*appartements, peintures, et jardinages.*" A letter of Bernardo Ghisulfo, July 16, 1491, says that certain artists, named Tondo and Francesco, had commenced to reproduce the Triumph of Cæsar in a loggia at Marmirolo. See Paul Mantz, *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1886.

[23] He was made a knight before he went to Rome. See the inscription *Andreas Mantinea Civis Patavinus Eques auratæ militiæ pinxit*, Milanesi, III., 400, note 2.

[24] In this "small chapel," painted 1488, besides the Baptism of Christ above the altar, there were upon the walls a Virgin Enthroned, a Nativity, and an Adoration of the Magi. Pope Pius VI. destroyed chapel and frescoes when the *Braccio Nuovo* of the Vatican Galleries was built.

ing with such labour and difficulty, that both are clearly apparent in his countenance—a curious conceit which at the time awakened admiration in all who saw it. We are told that the pope, occupied with his numerous avocations, neglected to give money to Mantegna so often as he could have desired it. The artist, therefore, having to paint certain Virtues in *terretta* among the figures of his work, represented that of Discretion with the rest ; and the Pope, going one day to see the work, inquired of Andrea what that figure might be. To which Mantegna, replied, "That is Discretion." Whereupon the pontiff rejoined : "If thou wouldst have her to be well accompanied, set Patience beside her." The painter understood what his holiness intended to convey, and never afterwards uttered a word ; but when the work was finished, the Pope dismissed him with much favour, and sent him back to the duke with honourable rewards.

While Andrea worked in Rome, he painted, besides the chapel above named, a small picture of Our Lady with the Child sleeping in her arms.[25] The landscape is a mountainous country with caverns, wherein are stone-cutters preparing stone for various kinds of work ; all which is so elaborately depicted, and finished with so much patience, that one finds it difficult to conceive how so much can be effected by the point of a pencil. This picture is now in the possession of the most illustrious Signor Don Francesco Medici, prince of Florence, by whom it is accounted among his most valued rarities.[26] Among the drawings in my book, is one

[25] Painted in 1488, now in the Uffizi ; the Child is not sleeping, but awake.

[26] A St. Sebastian, larger than life, feeble in color, superb in drawing, was lately sold by the Scarpa family at La Motta in Friuli. Morelli calls this a "repulsive picture." A second St. Sebastian is in Vienna; a third one, also larger than life, and superb in drawing, is, according to Mantz (see reproduction, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Second Period, Vol. XXXIV., *Une Tournée en Auvergne*), in an apsidal chapel of the little church of Aigueperse in Auvergne. Mantz accounts for its presence there by the fact that Chiara Gonzaga, sister of Francesco Gonzaga, married Gilbert de Bourbon, Comte de Montpensier, Seigneur of Aigueperse.

in chiaro-scuro, on a half sheet (royal folio), by the hand of Mantegna; the subject, a Judith placing the head of Holofernes in a wallet held by a black slave.[27] The manner of the chiaro-scuro there adopted is one no longer used, the artist having left the white paper to serve for the lights, and this is done with so much delicacy, that the separate hairs and other minutiæ are as clearly distinguishable as they could have been, if ever so carefully executed with the pencil; insomuch that one might in a certain sense rather call this a painting than a drawing.

Andrea Mantegna found great pleasure, as did also Pollaiuolo, in engraving on copper; and, among other things, he engraved his Triumphs—a work of which much account was then made, because better engravings had not then been seen.[28] One of the last works executed by this artist, was a picture painted at Santa Maria della Vittoria, a church built after the design and under the direction of Andrea, for the

[27] This superb drawing, dated February, 1491, is in the Uffizi. The Louvre has, too, a fine Judith, given by M. Gatteaux (Morelli considers it a copy), and a Judgment of Solomon. The Berlin Judith, attributed by Selvatico to Andrea as a work of 1488, is now proved to be a Dom. Ghirlandajo of 1489. A drawing in the British Museum, the subject of which is suggested by the calumny of Apelles, is Andrea's interpretation of a motive treated by so many Renaissance artists.

[28] Paul Mantz considers that in the present state of our knowledge any attempt at serious historical classification of Mantegna's engravings would be rash. The engravings after his Triumphs are very free renderings indeed. See the prints from the fifth, sixth, and seventh groups. These are considered by R. Fisher (Introduction to a Catalogue of Early Italian Prints in British Museum) to be copies by an inferior hand from preliminary studies of Mantegna. For controversial details as to the date and purpose of some of the undoubted originals among these engravings from the Triumph see the Vicomte Delaborde, *La gravure en Italie avant Marc Antoine*, pp. 96–105. The British Museum contains the largest existing collection of Mantegna's drawings. Sig. A. Rubbiani (*l'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, May–June, 1895, p. 230) says that upon a house in Bologna, numbered 123, Borgo San Pietro, is a terra cotta-frieze of the fifteenth century, made up of oblong reliefs which repeat exactly, over and over again, two figures from a famous engraving of Mantegna, namely, the two fighting gods seated upon sea-horses in Andrea's *Costa degli Dei Marini*. See the Vicomte Delaborde (*op. cit.*, Appendix) citing M. F. Lenormant and Mr. Palgrave to show that this combat of sea-gods was inspired by a bas-relief which is now in San Vitale at Ravenna.

Marchese Francesco, in acknowledgment of the victory[29] obtained by the latter on the river Taro, when he was captain-general of the Venetians against the French. In this picture, which was placed on the high altar, is the Virgin with the Child, seated on a pedestal, and at her feet are St. Michael the archangel, St. Anna, and Joachim; they are recommending the marquis—who is portrayed from the life so admirably well, that he seems alive—to the protection of Our Lady, who extends her hand towards him. And this work, as it then pleased everyone, and still continues to please all who behold it, so it satisfied the marquis himself so entirely, that he rewarded the skill and labour of Andrea most liberally, and the artist being well recompensed by princes for all his works, was enabled honourably to maintain his condition of a cavalier to the end of his days.[30]

[29] This important picture, painted in 1495, and now in the Louvre, really commemorated a defeat, which was claimed as a victory by Gonzaga because he pillaged the enemy's camp before the battle turned against him. Seven of his family remained upon the field, so that the gallantry of the Gonzaghe certainly deserved perpetuation. A letter of 1495, quoted by Milanesi, says that the saints who support the Virgin's mantle are Michael and George (not Joachim, as Vasari has it); Saints Andrew, Longinus, and Elizabeth also appear in the picture, together with a little St. John. In the Madonna della Vittoria, Mantegna changes from his almost monochromatic color of the Triumph of Scipio to a treatment which is, says Paul Mantz, "at once austere and sumptuous." For a curious note concerning the original destination of this picture, see Milanesi, Vol. III., p. 403.

[30] The ugly though powerful foreshortened Christ which remained in Andrea's studio at the time of his death (now in the Brera Gallery), is regarded by Morelli as one of Mantegna's last works (after 1506). Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say it was painted after 1474. M. Lafenestre believes it a work of his youth, painted before his arrival in Mantua. The Christ on the Mount of Olives, in the National Gallery, London, is inspired directly by Jacopo Bellini, says M. G. Gronau, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, February, 1895. Morelli, in his Italian Painters, pages 172–177, gives a complete list of the works of Mantegna which he admits as genuine. It includes the following panel pictures in Italy: the Santa Giustina altar-piece, now in the Brera Gallery; the Madonna with Singing Angels in the same gallery; the S. Zeno Madonna of Verona; the St. George, in the Academy of Venice; the triptych of the Uffizi; a Presentation in the Temple, in the Querini Stampalia collection in Venice; a Madonna with Saints, in the gallery of Verona; a similar subject in the Turin Gallery, and a Madonna and Christ Child, in a rocky landscape, in the Uffizi; the three compartments in Paris and Tours of the *predella* to the S. Zeno Madonna; in

One of the competitors of Andrea was Lorenzo da Lendinara, who was considered by the people of Padua to be an

London, the Agony in the Garden; the Scarampi portrait in Berlin; the St. Sebastian in Vienna; the Ecce Homo in Copenhagen. The pictures upon canvas accepted by the same critic are: the Triumph of Cæsar; the Enthroned Madonna in London (National Gallery); Samson and Delilah in the same gallery; the Madonna of Bergamo; the Poldi-Pezzoli Madonna of Milan; in the Louvre, the two well-known allegories and the Madonna of Victory; the Dresden Madonna; the Trivulzi Madonna of Milan; two pictures in the church and sacristy of S. Andrea at Mantua; a Baptism of Christ and a Madonna with Saints (these two pictures are accredited by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Dr. Bode to Francesco Mantegna); the Triumph of Scipio in the National Gallery; the St. Sebastian of La Motta, called by Morelli an "absolutely repulsive picture;" the *Pietà* of the Brera; the *Salvator Mundi* of the Mond collection, London; a Madonna belonging to the heirs of the Vicomte Both de Tauzia, late director of the Louvre. Morelli rejects the Death of the Madonna in the Prado; Summer and Autumn in the National Gallery; the Berlin Madonna numbered 27; the Elisabetta Gonzaga of the Uffizi; the Staedel St. Mark, at Frankfort; the Transfiguration in the Correr Museum of Venice; the S. Eufemia of Naples; the *Pietà* in the Vatican; the Resurrection and the Saints Jerome and Alexis at Bergamo; the Vespasiano Gonzaga portrait in the same gallery; the Madonna of the Scotti Palace at Milan. He admits the frescoes of the Eremitani and the Ducal Palace of Mantua, as well as the figures over the door of Sant' Antonio of Padua, and he mentions as characteristic and genuine the following drawings: a Judgment of Solomon (Louvre), Mucius Scævola (Munich), Christ with Saints Andrea and Longinus (Munich). In the British Museum he accepts the following: the Calumny; Mars and Venus; an Enthroned Madonna; a Dying Man Lying Upon the Ground; the Judith in the Uffizi (the same subject in the Louvre is set down as a copy, by Morelli). See the commentary of Milanesi, III., 416–426, for note on the Melzi Madonna of Andrea (1401), as also for the *ancona* of the Brera, the Daniel in the Lions' Den (Ambrosiana of Milan), the Judith, and other pictures in the Berlin Gallery attributed to Andrea. See also the same for long note on the Trivulzi Madonna of Milan, also the *Cristo al Sepolcro* in the Vatican Gallery, and upon the remains of two ruined frescoes upon the two *façades* of Saints Andrea and Sebastian at Mantua again; upon the portraits in collections at London, Bergamo (Lochis collection), and elsewhere; lastly, upon the four pictures (beside the Triumph of Cæsar) preserved at Hampton Court. Sig. G. Frizzoni, *L'Arch. Stor.*, IV., 160-71, *I Progressi della Critica Artistica*, takes up this commentary as a proof of the advance of art criticism, and shows that the Melzi Madonna, the Annunciation of Dresden, the Daniel, the Medea, the Vespasiano Gonzaga (in Lochis collection), the Abundance (in the D'Aumale collection), and the Dead Christ of the Vatican, are not by Andrea, while Dr. Meyer has proved the Dead Christ Sustained by Angels (Berlin), ascribed to Mantegna, to be by Bellini. The Battle of Amazons, in the Borromeo Gallery, Milan, is not by Andrea, but is an old copy after Ercole Roberti.

excellent painter, and executed various works in terra-cotta also, for the church of Sant' Antonio in that city. There were, besides, some others who flourished at the same time but of no great eminence. With Dario da Treviso and Marco Zoppo, of Bologna, Andrea Mantegna constantly maintained the most friendly relations, having been brought up with them under the discipline of Squarcione. For the Friars Minors, this Marco painted a Loggia in Padua, which serves them for a chapter-house ; and in Pesaro he painted a picture which is now in the new church of San Giovanni Evangelista, with a portrait of Guido Baldo da Montefeltro, who was at that time captain-general of the Florentines. The Ferrarese painter, Stefano, was also a friend of Mantegna ; the works of this artist are few, but all tolerably good. The ornaments of the Sarcophagus of Sant' Antonio, in Padua, are by his hand ; and he likewise painted a Madonna, which is called the Virgin of the Pillar.

But to return to Andrea ; this master built and adorned with paintings a most beautiful house in Mantua[31] for his

[31] Andrea was given the ground in 1476, and Ridolfi says he decorated the house with frescoes. It was sacked at the taking of Mantua, in 1630. Mantegna finally sold his Paduan house in 1492. His expenditures upon his Mantuan house, his tomb, and the chapel of Sant' Andrea embarrassed him financially, and only a month before his death he sold to the Marchioness Isabella, one of his best beloved possessions, a bust of Faustina. Isabella d'Este, who appears in a very unsympathetic light in this transaction, was nevertheless a good patron to Andrea. He painted for her (before 1405) the Parnassus and the Wisdom Triumphing over Vice, now in the Louvre ; and in 1506, according to a letter of Jacopo Calendario, of July 15, 1506, he had commenced for her a Comus, a picture with many figures. See Paul Mantz, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1886. M. Charles Yriarte, *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1895, in an article called *Isabelle d'Este et les Artistes de son Temps*, treats especially of these pictures of Mantegna, and refers to certain *opuscules* of Sig. Alessandro Luzio and M. Renier upon Isabella d'Este. See also A. Luzio upon the same subject in *l'Archivio Storico dell 'Arte*. M. Yriarte is convinced that Mantegna painted the Parnassus and the Wisdom for Isabella's *Grotta* in the Bonaccolsi Palace, now *Corte Vecchia*, and that they were afterward taken to her *Studiolo* or later residence. The great Marchioness's manner of giving an order for a picture was interesting. She first chose her subject, then had it formulated in all its bearings, allegorical, etc., by some humanist of her court. Next she took the first painter at hand and ordered him to make a sketch of the subject, she meanwhile dictating the placing of the figures and prescrib-

own use: this he enjoyed while he lived. He departed to a better life in the year 1517, and was buried with honourable obsequies in Sant' Andrea; on his tomb, over which is his likeness in bronze,[32] was placed the following epitaph:—

> "*Esse harem* * *hunc novis*,† *si non præponis Apelli*
> *Ænea Mantineæ qui simulacra vides.*" [33]

Andrea Mantegna was so kindly in all his actions, and in every way so estimable, that his memory must ever be held in cordial respect, not only in his own country, but through the whole world; he therefore well merited, no less for the purity of his life and gentle courtesy of his manners,[34] than

ing the distribution of the light. She then sent this sketch to Mantegna, Perugino, or whatever great master she had selected, and upon it he was expected to base his work. In regard to the dimensions she was very particular, since the pictures were to suit the panels of her *Grotta*, and as the measurements of various provinces differed, she sent always two pieces of riband, one measuring the height, the other the length of the picture. The portrait of Elisabetta Gonzaga, ascribed to Mantegna, in the Uffizi, is attributed to other painters by Frizzoni, Burckhardt, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

* *Parem* in the Milanesi edition.

† *Noris* in the Milanesi edition.

[32] He died September 13, 1506. Upon the walls of the mortuary chapel, frescoes by Francesco Mantegna, and others of Mantegna's school, have recently been freed from whitewash and restored by Sig. F. Fiscali. Sig. Natale Baldoria, *Arch. Stor.*, III., 233, thinks one of these frescoes, a Holy Family, may be by Andrea.

[33] The superb bronze bust of Andrea, which we are told "had once diamond eyes," was for a long time attributed to one Sperandio Meglioli, but this confused attribution, which combined two names in one, has been replaced by the attribution to Bartolommeo di Virgilio Meglioli, and Signor Rossi now suggests Gian Marco Cavalli as the sculptor of the bust; see Rossi's *Medaglisti del Rinascimento*, and see also Dr. Bode, in the *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, X., 28. Lo Scardeone (see Milanesi, III., 408, note 2), says that Andrea cast the bust himself. He did understand bronze casting, and besides the brush and the burin he handled the modeller's tools, while a sonnet by him has been preserved in the *Archivio Segreto* of Mantua.

[34] Existing correspondence proves, on the contrary, that this master, so dignified in all that pertained to his art, was quarrelsome and litigious in matters of daily life. Perhaps we may rather believe that he was nervous, irritable, easily disturbed when at work, and sometimes childishly ready to attribute importance to trifling matters. When his engravings were pirated he could be fierce enough; see Herr Karl Brun, *Neue Dokumente über Andrea Man-*

for the excellence of his paintings, the distinction of being celebrated by Ariosto, who, in the commencement of his xxxiii canto, enumerates him among the most illustrious painters of his time, as thus:

"*Leonardo, Andrea Mantegna, Gian Bellino.*" [35]

This master taught a much improved method of executing the foreshortening of figures from below upwards which was, without doubt, a remarkable and difficult invention. He also took great pleasure, as we have related before, in the reproduction of figures by engraving on copper, which is indeed a truly valuable acquisition to art; [36] [37] [38] [39] for by this

tegna, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. XI. Richard Fisher (p. 185 of an Introduction to a Catalogue of the Early Italian Prints in the British Museum) translates and publishes this document from Brun, which proves that one Zoan Andrea, and his assistant, Ardizioni of Reggio, who had stolen the master's work, were beaten by Mantegna's people and left for dead.

[35] See note in the Lives of the Bellini, page 164 of the present volume.

[36] Woltmann remarks that Mantegna was the first North Italian who took advantage in the interest of engraving of that constant intercourse which existed between Germany and the Peninsula. He believed that Andrea found in the north the copperplates which served as prototypes for his own, and emphasizes the fact that instead of multiplying the works of others, he was "the true painter-engraver, embodying his own inventions in this *technique*."

[37] Albert Dürer tells us that he had planned a journey to Mantua for the purpose of meeting Andrea, and that the latter's death on the eve of this visit was one of the great disappointments of his (Dürer's) life.

[38] Mantegna made a design (see reproduction in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Vol. XX.), for a projected statue of Virgil, which was never erected.

[39] Immediately after the five or six greatest names in the history of Italian art comes that of Andrea Mantegna; he stands at the head of the group of secondary painters which counted Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, and Filippino, Bellini, Signorelli, and Perugino among its members. His name brings with it the memory of a lofty and intensely characterized style, of figures of legionaries long and lean as North American Indians, Roman in their costume, mediæval in their sharp, dry silhouette; of saints, hard and meagre, but statuesquely meagre; of figures stern almost to fierceness yet exquisitely refined in the delicacy of their outline; of realistic Mantuan nobles impressive in their ugliness; of stately Madonnas; of charming boy angels flying or holding up festoons of flowers and fruits; of delicate, youthful figures with long curling hair and crinkled drapery, where every tiny fold is finished as if in a miniature; of canvases filled with long files of captives, with chariots loaded with treasure, with sky lines broken by standards and trophies, with armored

means not only has the whole world obtained the power of seeing many of his works, as, for example, the Bacchanalia,

legionaries, curvetting horses, elephants with jewelled frontlets and with statues towering above the crowd; of processions where the magnificent vulgarity of ancient Rome and the confused lavishness of an antique "triumph" are subdued to measured harmonies and sculptural lines.

Mantegna's was a dual artistic personality; pushed a little further in one direction, his Judith of the Uffizi might form part of a Greek vase painting; pushed a little further in the opposite direction, his Gonzaghe nobles of the Mantuan *Castello* would become caricatures. Though an earnest student of the antique marbles, he was a keen observer of contemporary life as well. Moving in this wide gamut of elevated realism and noble idealism, he always preserved a loftiness of feeling which made him at times a peer of Michelangelo, while he possessed a *terribilità* of his own a quarter of a century before the great Tuscan began to work at all. His love of sculptural repose and dignity did not prevent him from being intensely dramatic in his *predella* of the San Zeno Madonna, and although his figures, like those of Giovanni Bellini in his *Pietà*, often grimace and distort their features yet the contortion which became pathos with Giovanni deepened into tragedy with Andrea. He was a past-master of line and of linear composition; he understood, too, astonishingly well, the effect of light falling upon objects in the round. yet it cannot be said that he "enveloped" his figures, for he seemed to see everything in nature circumscribed by a pure line. As might have been predicted, this lover of sculpture was lacking in feeling for color, a deficiency which few critics have noted, and which the late Paul Mantz has expressed admirably, remarking that Mantegna was a "brilliant but rather venturesome colorist," and that "tones which are fine, if considered by themselves, are heard above the general harmony of the music, and are rather autonomous than disciplined." For example, the colors in the Madonna of St. Zeno are rich and beautiful in themselves, but Andrea has placed a brilliant corn-colored robe in the left-hand lower corner of one of the shutters of the triptych, which distracts the eye from the really important portions of the picture, while branches of vermilion coral and yellow fruits are dispersed here and there among his decorative accessories without any suggestion of choice as to their place, or of relation to the effect on the composition as a whole. In his earlier works, the frescoes of the Eremitani of Padua, Andrea is in his coloring like a child with a toy paint-box, spotting out impartially here a yellow mantle and there a green tunic without reference to any general scheme of color. He learned later from Bellini to use rich, strong tones in the Madonnas of San Zeno at Verona, and of Victory in the Louvre, but on the whole this mighty master of style and of composition of lines was almost wholly lacking in the sense of color-composition. Indeed it could hardly be expected that the same temperament which could so keenly perceive, and so adequately render the grave music of pure and exquisite line could be equally susceptible to the deep-chorded harmonies of rich and subdued color. Mantegna's is essentially a virile genius; he does not charm by suggestiveness, nor please by *morbidezza;* he lacks facile grace and feeling for facial beauty; he is often cold, sometimes even

the Battle of Marine Monsters, the Deposition from the Cross, the Sepulture of Christ, and his Resurrection, with Longinus and Sant' Andrea, all engraved by Mantegna himself, but in like manner every one is now enabled to judge of the manner of all the masters who have ever lived.

harsh and crude, and in his disdain for prettiness and his somewhat haughty distinction, he occasionally impresses us with a rather painful sense of superiority. Something of the antique statues that he loved and studied and collected entered into his own nature and his work. As Angelico was the Saint, and Leonardo the Magician, Mantegna was the Ancient Roman of Art. His were the Roman virtues—sobriety, dignity, self-restraint, discipline, and a certain masterliness, as indescribable as it is impressive—and to those who appreciate austere beauty and the pure harmonies of exquisite lines Mantegna's art will always appeal.

Not half enough has been said or written about the friendship of Mantegna and Bellini; the two great painters were brothers-in-law, each had qualities which the other lacked, and acquired to some extent from contact and their reaction upon each other was invaluable. Although Andrea's frescoes in Rome have been destroyed, his life's work which has come down to us is very considerable; his cycle of the Eremitani in Padua, his wall-paintings of the Mantuan Ducal Palace, where the decorative idealism of the ceiling supplements the realism of the walls, show him as *frescante;* his Madonnas of St. Zeno and the Louvre acquaint us with the painter of monumental easel pictures, while the triptych of the Uffizi is almost the work of a miniaturist, and his panoramically magnificent Triumph of Cæsar, at Hampton Court, is followed by the long series of his drawings and engravings. Careful study of his work compels so much enthusiasm that M. Müntz concludes a review of the painter's work by asking, "who knows if we may not even call Andrea Mantegna the prince of draughtsmen of all time?"

FILIPPO LIPPI, FLORENTINE PAINTER[1]

[Born 1457; died 1504.]

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THERE lived at the same time in Florence a painter of very fine genius and admirable powers of invention, Filippo namely, son of Fra Filippo del Carmine,[2] who, following the steps of his deceased father in the art of painting, was brought up and instructed, being still a youth at his father's death, by Sandro Botticello,[3] although the father on perceiving his death approaching, had given him in charge to Fra Diamante, his most intimate friend, nay, almost brother. Filippo was endowed with much origi-

[1] Filippino Lippi signs himself in several ways as Filippo di Filippo Lippi, Philipus, Philippinus de Lippis, Philipus de Lipis, Filippo Filippi, Filippo, alterius Filippi.

[2] Filippo Lippi was born in 1457 at Prato. The documents cited by Milanesi make it probable that he was really the son of the friar by Lucrezia Buti, and he seems to have been considered as such during the Renaissance. See the Life of Fra Filippo Lippi, page 70 of the present volume. He was usually called Filippino Lippi, to distinguish him from his father. In a will made in 1488 he left property to his "mother, Lucrezia Buti."

[3] Filippino's father was undoubtedly his first instructor in painting, although he died while Filippino was still very young; the boy's education was then continued by Fra Diamante and finished under Botticelli, or very probably, as Morelli states (Italian Painters, II., 260), Fra Diamante was only his guardian and Botticelli was his sole master after the death of Fra Lippo. Unfortunately the date of Filippino's registry in the guild of Florentine painters is illegible.

nality; he displayed the most copious invention in his paintings, and the ornaments he added were so new, so fanciful, and so richly varied, that he must be considered the first[4] who taught the moderns the new method of giving variety to the habiliments, and who first embellished his figures by adorning them with vestments after the antique. Filippo was also the first who employed the grotesque masks, executed in the manner of the ancients, and which he used as decorations in friezes or frame-works, *in terretta*, and coloured, displaying more correct drawing and a more finished grace than any of the masters who preceded him had done. It was indeed a wonderful thing to see the extraordinary fancies exhibited in painting by this artist; but what is more, Filippo never executed any work whatever wherein he did not avail himself of Roman antiquities, which he studied with unwearied diligence. Helmets, for example, banners, trophies, vases, buskins, ornaments of the Temples, head-dresses of various kinds, draperies of different sorts, mantles, armour, the toga, swords, scimitars, and other matters of similar kind, so varied and beautiful, that those who follow are under great and perpetual obligation to Filippo for the rich embellishment which he has thus added to this department of art.

While yet in his first youth, this master completed the Chapel of the Brancacci,[5] in the church of the Carmine, at

[4] Or rather among the first. Vasari more than once shows that he was much impressed by Filippino's archæological knowledge.

[5] Filippino probably worked in the Brancacci chapel about 1484–1485, after he had already completed the San Bernardo for Piero del Pugliese and the Ferranti San Girolamo, and was twenty-six years old. Milanesi coincides with Rumohr in the opinion that Filippino when very young (twenty-two years old) painted the twelve little *lunettes* in the oratorio of the Buonuomini di San Martino, in Florence, about the year 1482. M. Müntz, *L' Age d' Or*, 652, cites a series of scenes from the story of Esther, painted on a marriage coffer of the Torrigiani Gallery of Florence, as an early work of Filippino. Morelli declares that these Torrigiani panels, recently sold in France, are by Sandro Botticelli, and states further, that the St. Jerome of the Uffizi, accredited to Filippino, is also by Sandro.

Florence, which had been commenced by Masolino, and continued but not entirely finished by Masaccio, who was also interrupted in his labours by death. It was thus from the hand of Filippo that the work received its ultimate perfection, that master completing what remained to be accomplished of an unfinished picture, representing SS. Pietro and Paolo, who restore the nephew of the emperor from the dead. In the figure of the undraped youth, Filippo portrayed the features of the painter Francesco Granacci, then very young; he also depicted that of the Cavalier, Messer Tommaso Soderini, in this work, with those of Piero Guicciardini, father of Messer Francesco, who has written the *Storie;* of Piero del Pugliese, of the poet Luigi Pucci, of Antonio Pollaiuolo, and finally of himself, as a youth, which he then was; the last-mentioned portrait he never painted again in all the rest of his life, for which cause it has not been possible to procure a likeness of him at a more advanced age.[6] In the story following this, Filippo painted the portrait of his master, Sandro Botticello, with many other friends and distinguished men; among these was the broker, Raggio,[7] a man of singular talent and very witty, the same who executed the whole Inferno of Dante, in relief, on a shell, with all the "circles" and divisions of its dark caverns, and, finally, its lowest deep, all the figures, and every other minutia, are measured in their exact proportions, and all as they had been most ingeniously imagined and described by that great poet, which was at the time considered an admirable performance.[8] Filippo afterwards painted a picture in tempera for the chapel of Francesco del Pugliese at Campora, a place belonging to the

[6] The portraits of Antonio and Filippo are not in the picture mentioned, but in that of St. Peter Condemned to Death. Vasari probably grouped the two subjects together as a single work.

[7] Possibly Raggio di Noferi Raggi, born about 1470.

[8] Milanesi devotes a long commentary to proving that the stories of Saints Peter and Paul raising the nephew of the emperor from the dead, and St. Peter crucified, in the Brancacci chapel, are by Filippino, and not by Masaccio.

monks of the abbey, outside the gate of Florence.[9] The subject of this work is San Bernardo, who is in a wood writing, and to whom Our Lady appears, surrounded by Angels; it has been much admired for the various accessories introduced by the painter; as, for example, the rocks, trees, and shrubs, the books, and similar things; there is, besides, the portrait of the above-named Francesco, so truly natural, that it wants nothing but the power of speech to be alive.[10] This picture was removed from its place during the siege, and was deposited for safety in the abbey of Florence. In the church of San Spirito[11] in the same city, Filippino painted a picture for Tanai de' Nerli, the subject is the Virgin, with San Martino, San Niccolo, and Santa Caterina; he executed another in the church of San Brancazio (Pancrazio), for the chapel of the Rucellai family, with a Crucifix,[12] and two figures on a gold ground for the church of San Raffaello.*[13] In the church of San

* San Ruffello in Vasari's first edition.

[9] This picture, painted for Piero (not Francesco) di Francesco Pugliese in 1480, is now in the church of the Badia, Florence; it is one of Filippino's most famous pictures, and is in its quiet depth of feeling unexcelled, and indeed hardly equalled, by any work of his contemporaries. The picture has suffered greatly from changes in the pigment or from retouching, the color being in parts crude and hard, in parts delicate and transparent, and, on the whole, the work, like so many other Tuscan pictures, can hardly be said to have any especial *composition* of color.

[10] On the contrary, this is the weakest part of the picture.

[11] This work is still in its place. Tanai and his wife kneel in the foreground, Saints Martin and Catharine present them to the Virgin, and in the background, where there is a view of the Borgo San Frediano, and the Gate, Tanai is again seen, just alighted from his horse and embracing his little daughter. This is one of the best of Filippino's works, but cannot be well examined in the darkness of the choir-aisle.

[12] Now in the National Gallery, London. It represents the Madonna and Child, with Saints Jerome and Dominick; in the same collection is an Adoring Angel—a fragment of a fresco. Milanesi cites also the *tondo*, Madonna and Child, with angels, in the Corsini Gallery at Florence, and two *tondi* in the Palazzo Pubblico of San Gemignano.

[13] Believed to be a picture in the Berlin Museum, representing Christ on the Cross, with angels who hold chalices to catch his blood, while below are Saints Mary and Francis.

Francesco, situate without the gate of San Miniato, there is a picture by Filippino in front of the Sacristy; it represents the Almighty Father with children around him;[14] and at the Palco, a house of the barefooted monks outside the city of Prato,[15] there is also a picture by this master. In the same place there is a small painting by Filippo, which has been greatly extolled; it is in the audience-chamber of the prior, and represents Our Lady, with San Stefano and San Giovanni Batista.[16] This master likewise painted [17] a Tabernacle in fresco at the corner of the Mercatele (also in Prato), opposite to the convent of Santa Margherita, and near some houses belonging to the nuns. In this work there is an exceedingly beautiful figure of the Virgin, in the midst of a choir of seraphim, the whole group is surrounded by a brilliant light; and among other peculiarities of this picture may be remarked the art and judgment displayed in the Dragon, which is beneath the feet of Santa Margareta, a monster of aspect so horribly strange and loathsome, that one sees clearly the abode of venom, fire, and death in that frightful figure. The whole of the work is, moreover, remarkable for the freshness and animation of the colouring, qualities for which it merits the highest praise.

Filippino also executed paintings in Lucca; among these is a picture for one of the chapels in the church of San Ponziano, belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto.[18] In

[14] This picture is lost.

[15] Executed in 1495; it is now in Munich, and represents Christ appearing in the clouds to his mother, while above is God the Father.

[16] This picture, which has been injured by time, was ordered by the commune of Prato in 1501, and was finished in 1503. It is now in the small gallery of the Palazzo del Commune, Prato. San Stefano, however, does not appear in it.

[17] Painted in 1498; this picture is still in place. In the sides of the tabernacle are Saints Stefano and Caterina at the right, Margherita and Antonio *abate* at the left; in the centre are the Virgin and Child, with angels.

[18] These works are lost; but in San Michele, at Lucca, is a picture by Filippino, with Saints Rochus, Sebastian, Jerome, and Helena, in a meadow filled with flowers.

the centre of this chapel there is also a very beautiful relief by the hand of that most excellent sculptor, Andrea Sansovino; it is within a recess, and exhibits the figure of Sant' Antonio.

Being invited to Hungary by King Matthias, Filippo declined to go thither, but painted two very beautiful pictures in Florence for that monarch, which were sent to him, and in one of which was the portrait of Matthias, as he appears on the medals.[19] Filippo likewise sent various works to Genoa,[20] and for the church of San Domenico, in Bologna, he painted a picture of San Sebastiano, which is worthy of the utmost praise; it is on the left of the chapel of the high altar.[21] For Tanai de' Nerli Filippo painted a second picture in the church of San Salvadore, near Florence, and for his friend Piero del Pugliese he executed a story in small figures, finished with so much art and care, that on being requested by another citizen to paint a similar one for him, the master refused to attempt it, declaring that it was impossible for him to produce such another.[22]

After completing these works, Filippo undertook an important one in Rome for the Neapolitan Cardinal, Olivieri Caraffa, being entreated thereto by Lorenzo de' Medici the elder, who was a friend of the cardinal's. On his way to Rome for this purpose, Filippo passed through Spoleto at the request of the same Lorenzo, to make arrangements for the construction of a marble tomb for his father, Fra Filippo, which Lorenzo had determined to erect at his own cost, since he could not obtain from the people of Spoleto

[19] In 1488; the pictures executed for Matthias are probably lost.

[20] Förster states that there is a St. Sebastian between St. John the Baptist and St. Francis in the church of San Teodoro in Genoa.

[21] This picture, which was painted in 1501, is still in its place. It represents the marriage of St. Catherine, and contains several figures of saints, among them a St. Sebastian.

[22] No authentic account of these pictures, or their whereabouts, can now be obtained. Milanesi says that San Francesco outside the San Miniato gate was once called San Salvadore, and thinks this picture may be identical with the one mentioned by Vasari as painted for that church. Nothing is known of the "story" painted for Pugliese.

the remains of Fra Filippo, to deposit them in Florence as he had desired. Filippino prepared a design accordingly in a very good manner ;[23] and, after that design, Lorenzo caused the monument to be richly and handsomely constructed, as we have already related. Arrived in Rome Filippo painted a Chapel for the above-named Cardinal Caraffa, in the church of the Minerva ; he there depicted events from the Life of St. Thomas Aquinas, with certain poetical compositions, all of which were ingeniously invented by himself, to whom Nature was at all times propitious in such matters. Here, then, we find Faith, by whom Infidelity, with all heretics and sceptics, has been made prisoner. Despair is, in like manner, seen to be vanquished by Hope, and other Virtues also subjugate the Vices which are their opposite. In another compartment St. Thomas is seated in the Professor's chair, defending the Church against a School of heretics, and beneath his feet lie conquered Sabellius, Arian, Averroes and others ; the draperies of all these figures are exceedingly graceful and appropriate.[24] In our book of drawings we have the whole of the story above described,[25] by Filippo himself, with several others by the same hand, all so ably executed that they could not be improved. There is besides in this chapel the delineation of that event in the life of St. Thomas, when the saint being in prayer, was addressed by the crucifix, which said to him, —*Bene scripsisti di me Thoma.* A companion of St. Thomas, hearing the Crucifix thus speaking, stands utterly confounded and almost beside himself. On the altar-piece is

[23] See the Life of Fra Filippo Lippi, page 76 of the present volume.

[24] These frescoes were probably finished *circa* 1490. Some of the paintings of the Virtues and Vices were destroyed when the monument of Pope Paul IV. was erected. M. Müntz (*L'Age d'Or*) thinks that up to the time of these frescoes no painter had shown such sentiment of the *mise en scène*, and declares that Filippino's composition here prepares the way for Raphael. In the background of the Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas, the balcony or balustrade, crowded with spectators, appears ; a prototype of those introduced later and so frequently by the Venetian painters.

[25] The preparatory sketch of the *Disputà* of St. Thomas is in the print-room of the British Museum.

the Virgin receiving the Annunciation from the Angel Gabriel, and on the principal wall is the Assumption of our Lady, with the twelve Apostles round her tomb. The whole work was and is considered extremely fine, and for a painting in fresco is admirably executed. The above-named Olivieri Caraffa, Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia, is portrayed in it[26] from the life, and that prelate was deposited in the chapel on his death, in the year 1511,[27] but was afterwards taken to Naples, and interred in the Episcopal chapel.

Having returned to Florence, Filippo undertook to paint, at his leisure, the chapel belonging to Filippo Strozzi the elder, in the church of Santa Maria Novella, but having completed the ceiling he was obliged to return to Rome; here, for the same Cardinal Caraffa, he constructed a Tomb with ornaments of stucco, as also certain figures in the recess of a small chapel beside that above described, in the church of the Minerva, with other figures, some of which were, in part, executed by Filippo's disciple, Raffaellino del Garbo. The chapel of the tomb was estimated by Maestro Lanzilago, of Padua,[28] and by the Roman, Antonio called Antoniasso two of the best painters then in Rome, at two thousand gold ducats, exclusive of the cost of ultra-marine and the expenses of the master's assistants. When Filippo, therefore, had received the sum he returned to Florence, where he completed the before-mentioned chapel of the

[26] Caraffa is painted in the altar-piece of the Annunciation.

[27] As Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa died in 1551, Vasari's date, 1511, is unquestionably an error of the press. Filippino was warmly recommended to Caraffa by Lorenzo de' Medici, and another painter having been proposed by someone else, the Cardinal said: "No, since he has been sent me by the Magnifico, I would not exchange him for an Apelles, or for all Italy." See the letter of Caraffa, September 2, 1488, to Don Gabbriello, of Montescalari, cited by Milanesi, III., p. 469, and printed in its entirety by M. Müntz, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1889, p. 484.

[28] Morelli thinks that Lanzilago may have been mistaken for a certain Resilao; Milanesi believes, however, that a real Lanzilago, a Paduan painter, is the man mentioned. Antoniasso di Benedetto Aquilio was a Roman painter; Milanesi cites notices of him from Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Müntz, and Costantino Corvisieri.

Strozzi,[29] with so much judgment and such admirable design, that the work awakens astonishment in all who behold it, and not for those qualities only, but also for the novelty and variety of the many fanciful objects depicted in it; among these may be enumerated men in armour, temples, vases, helmets, with their crests, and other arms, trophies, banners, spears, draperies of various kinds, buskins, ornaments for the head, sacerdotal vestments, and other things, all painted in so admirable a manner, that they merit the highest commendation.[30] Among the events depicted in this work is the Resurrection of Drusiana by St. John the evangelist,[31] and the amazement experienced by the surrounding people, at the sight of a man who restores life to the dead by a simple sign of the cross, is expressed with the utmost force and truth; this is more particularly manifest in the face of a priest or philosopher, for he may be either, who stands near, in the very extremity of astonishment:

[29] This work was ordered in 1487, finished in 1502, and restored in 1753.

[30] While in Rome Filippino improved his opportunities to study classical models. In his Autobiography Benvenuto Cellini says that Francesco Lippi, son of Filippino, had a number of his father's books, which contained sketches from the antique; they consisted of the arabesques and tracery work, which were called "*grotesques.*"

[31] In certain of these frescoes, notably in the Resurrection of Drusiana, the spectator hardly recognizes the Filippino of earlier times. The painter of the dignified Carmine frescoes, the delicate and fervid St. Bernard, has suddenly grown undignified and very nearly coarse; his figures gesticulate and jostle in almost delirious activity; their faces are contorted and grimacing, the picture is fairly smothered with accessories, classical or pseudo-classical, and the *bas-reliefs* and caryatides take part in the action and have a wholly undue importance, coming forward beyond their proper atmospheric planes. Every scarf or strap or veil is waving violently in the air, as if a great wind were blowing along the wall. And yet all this exaggeration has not made Filippino forget that he is a master; the composition, although in artists' parlance full of holes, that is, lacking repose and mass, does not want balance, and these same streaming draperies and straps are made to curl and wave in strict accordance with the decorative filling of spaces. Taking them altogether, the frescoes of the Strozzi chapel are astonishing examples of the evolution of a man who holds fast to *quattrocento* naturalism with one hand (see the inconsonant episode of the child and dog), and grasps eclecticism with the other; who is violent in trying to be dramatic, and yet who has prophetic glimpses of the great monumental compositions that are to come.

he is dressed after the antique, and bears a vase in his hands. In the same story, moreover, and among the numerous figures of women, variously apparelled, is a boy, who, terrified by the attack of a little red and white spaniel, which has seized him by his tunic, turns round to the mother, and, hiding himself among the folds of her garments, seems as entirely possessed by his fear of being bitten by the dog, as the woman is with her amazement, and a sort of dread and horror, as she witnesses the resurrection of Drusiana.[32] Near this, and where San Giovanni is seen boiled in oil, the expression of rage in the countenance of the judge, who commands that the fire shall be increased, is rendered with extraordinary power; the reflection of the flames on the face of him who blows the fire is also fine, and all the figures are painted in varied and beautiful attitudes. On the opposite side is represented San Filippo in the Temple of Mars, causing to come forth from beneath the altar the Serpent, which has killed the son of the king by the fœtid odours emitted from it. The master here painted, on one of the steps of the altar, a cleft, through which the serpent crawls from beneath it, and the fracture thus depicted is so natural, that one evening a scholar of Filippo, desiring to hide something, I know not what, that it might not be seen by some one who was knocking at the door, ran in haste to this hole to conceal what he held within it, but was foiled of his purpose. Filippo displayed equal art in the Serpent itself, insomuch that the venom, the fœtid breath, and the fire, seems rather to be real than merely painted. The invention of the picture, in which the saint is crucified, has also been much commended; the artist would seem to have figured to himself that San Filippo had been fastened to the cross while it lay extended on the earth, and to have been then raised and dragged aloft by means of ropes, cords, and stakes; these ropes being carried around the fragments of old buildings, as pillars, basements, and the like, and then

[32] M. Müntz in referring to these frescoes of the Strozzi chapel says that Filippino may even figure among the ancestors of the Rococo.

drawn by numerous assistants. The weight of the cross and of the undraped saint extended upon it, is supported on the other side by two men, one of whom upholds the end of the cross by means of a ladder which he has placed beneath it; the other supports the part he holds with the help of a stake, while two more, moving the foot of the cross with a lever, are gradually bringing it to the hole wherein it is to be placed upright. Nor would it be possible to execute all this better than it is here done (whether we consider the invention or design), whatever art or industry might be applied to the work. There are, besides, numerous accessories of different kinds painted in chiaro-scuro to resemble marble, all exhibiting the richest variety and the most admirable design.

In San Donato, near Florence, called the Scopeto, Filippo painted an Adoration of the Magi for the Scopetine friars. This picture he executed with great care, and in the figure of an Astrologer, holding a quadrant in his hand, he pourtrayed the likeness of Pier Francesco de' Medici, the elder, son of Lorenzo di Bicci, with that of Giovanni, father of the Signor Giovanni de' Medici; that of another Pier Francesco, brother of the above-named Signor Giovanni, and those of many other distinguished personages.[33] In this work there are Moors and Indians, in singularly arranged dresses, and a hut or cabin, of the most fanciful character imaginable. In a Loggia, at Poggio a Caiano, Filippo com-

[33] Now in the Uffizi; the picture is signed (on the back) *Filippus me pinsit de Lipis Florentinus, addì 29 di Marzo* 1496. The Pierfrancesco named in the text, and who holds a quadrant in the picture, is the son of Lorenzo di Giovanni d' Averardo, called Bicci (de' Medici). The young king, standing, is the portrait of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco, father of Giovanni *delle Bande Nere*. Another Pierfrancesco, cousin (not brother) of Giovanni, is painted as a blond, long-haired youth who holds out a chalice. See Milanesi, III. 473, note 1. A commission for this subject was given to Leonardo da Vinci (1480), but he failed to carry it out, and it fell to Filippino Lippi. Sig. A. Venturi, in his text to Adolf Braun's publication on the Pitti Gallery, says the *tondo* 347, attributed to Filippino, is really by an unknown painter. Filippino's passion for quaint accessories led him, in later life, far away from the dignified simplicity of his Brancacci frescoes.

menced a Sacrifice, in fresco, for Lorenzo de' Medici, but this work remained unfinished.[34] For the nuns of San Girolamo, on the acclivity of San Giorgio, in Florence, he also commenced a picture for the high altar; this was successfully continued after his death by the Spanish painter Alonzo Berughetta, but was finished by other artists, the Spaniard having returned to his native land before its completion.[35] The painting in that hall[36] of the palace of the Signoria, wherein the Council of Eight hold their sittings, was executed by Filippo, who prepared the drawings for another large picture, with its decorations, to be placed in the Hall of the Council; but the death of the master ensuing soon after, this design was never put into execution, although the ornament or frame-work was already carved, and is now in the possession of Messer Baccio Baldini, an eminent physician and natural philosopher, who is a lover of all the arts. For the church of the abbey of Florence, Filippo painted a very beautiful figure of San Girolamo;[37] and commenced a Deposition from the Cross, for the friars of the Nunziata:[38] of this latter work he finished the figures

[34] Still in existence. [35] This work is lost.

[36] Now in the Uffizi, dated February 20, 1485—a Virgin and Child Enthroned, with two angels above, and at the sides Saints John, Victor, Bernard, and Zenobius.

[37] This picture is probably lost; it was painted in 1480 for the Ferranti family. See Milanesi, III. 475.

[38] This work was commenced in 1503. The lower part of the picture (not of the figures) was left unfinished by Filippo, and was painted by Perugino. It is now in the Florentine Academy. Morelli, in his Italian Painters, says that Madrid, Vienna, Dresden, and Paris have no pictures by Filippino, although he believes No. 1114, in the Louvre, painted by Albertinelli, was commenced by Filippino; the St. Jerome showing evidences of having been drawn by Lippi's own hand. In Munich, Morelli credits to Filippino No. 563, Christ Appearing to his Mother. No. 538, attributed to Ghirlandajo by the catalogue, to Filippino by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, is given by Frizzoni and Morelli to Raffaellino del Garbo. Morelli further accredits to Lippi a *tondo* in Oxford, Cupid Weeping, and No. 293 in the National Gallery. He admits that Berlin has several Lippis, among which he especially mentions 82 and 101, each a Madonna with the Infant Christ; he rejects, in the Pitti Gallery of Florence, the Death of Virginia, and No. 347, a Madonna and Christ with angels, and accepts only No. 336 catalogued as by an unknown artist. In Venice he accepts as by Filippino the picture attributed to Crespi in the Seminario Ves-

from the middle upward only, seeing that he was then attacked by a violent fever, and by that constriction of the throat commonly called quinsy, or squinancia, of which he died in a few days, in the forty-fifth year of his age.[39]

Having been ever courteous, obliging, and friendly, Filippo was lamented by all who had known him, but more particularly by the youth of Florence, his noble native city; who, in the public festivals, masks, and other spectacles, were always glad to avail themselves of his readiness and inventive genius, for in these matters this artist has never had his equal. Filippo gave proof of so much excellence, in all his actions, as to have entirely effaced the stain (to whatever extent it may have existed) left to him by his father—effaced it I say, not only by the eminence he attained in art, wherein he was inferior to none of his contemporaries—but also by the modest propriety of his life, and above all by an obliging and friendly disposition, the effect of which on every heart, and its power to conciliate all minds, can be fully known to those only who have experienced it. Filippo was buried by his sons in San Michele Bisdomini, on the 13th of April, 1505;[40] [41] [42] and while the funeral procession

covile, and he recommends for study of the characteristics of Filippino the following drawings: Uffizi, 139, head of the Badia Madonna; 186, sketch for one of the Strozzi frescoes; Ambrosiana, head of a Magian king; Lille collection, a drawing attributed to Masaccio; Dresden, two studies accredited there to Rosselli, and in the Louvre a man seated, resting his head on his left hand, attributed to Fra Filippo. One may add, as among the works accredited by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Filippino, the Meeting of Joachim and Elizabeth (Copenhagen); Madonna and Saints (San Domenico at Bologna); and the famous examples in the Florentine galleries, in the Badia, and in the Santo Spirito.

[39] In the forty-seventh year of his age.

[40] In 1504 rather.

[41] Filippino painted his own portrait as well as those of Pollajuolo and Sandro Botticelli in the fresco of the Martyrdom of St. Peter, in the Brancacci chapel.

[42] Few masters ran such a gamut as Filippino Lippi; his precocity was unequalled, for he completed the decoration of the Brancacci chapel when he was only twenty-seven years old; this however was not phenomenal precocity but the result of good fortune. He had the art inheritance of his father, Fra Lippo, he had the companionship of Botticelli, he had the legacy of Masaccio, and he walked in the paths which that great master had traced, fulfilling the

was passing, all the shops in the Via de' Servi were closed, as is done for the most part at the funerals of princes only.

task which Masaccio had begun. Even before he worked in the Brancacci, Filippino had painted the St. Bernard for del Pugliese, and thus, at his very beginning, he achieved the things which were intrinsically his best, for the St. Bernard surpasses Botticelli in fervor and the frescoes of the Brancacci are as grave as Ghirlandajo's works and even approach those of Masaccio. The early years of Filippino's life were of that particular time when the greatest artistic talent began to run instinctively into the channel of painting alone; men like Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, Perugino, Signorelli, who, twenty-five years earlier, would have been sculptor-painters, like Verrocchio and Pollajuolo, now handled the brush only; it was the epoch of painting, but toward the end of Filippino's life came the trying years of a violent change in manner —a new order of artists of the type of Raphael, Michelangelo, Andrea del Sarto was to arise. Only a few fortunate men were born at just the right moment to be flung to the crest of the wave, and those great artists of the old manner, those at least who did not die young enough to escape the transition, as did Ghirlandajo, were in a measure stranded. Perugino and Signorelli returned from Florence and Rome to their native Umbria and the townsmen who still faithfully admired their pictures. Botticelli, we are told, was neglected, but Filippino swam bravely with the stream, for he was almost as instinctively an assimilator as was Raphael. His was an especially interesting evolution; for this man, still young, and having shown that he could worthily represent fifteenth-century art in its full development was a forerunner of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael; he had prophetic visions of what was to come, and in his almost geometrically ordered "Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas" he was the precursor of the painters of Santa Maria Nuova and of the *Stanze*. He always advanced, but toward the end of his life it was in the direction of thought rather than of observation. He became more than ever a factor in the evolution of Italian art, but it was at the sacrifice of much of his depth and spontaneity. He still found charming episodes (see his children in the frescoes of the Strozzi chapel), and his somewhat fantastical antiquarianism and his abuse of Roman detail in the same frescoes showed him still as a *quattrocentisto*. On the whole his change of manner was more admirable than attractive, and where we may praise him most for his seeking after monumental composition, we find least room for sympathy with his work itself. He remains to us as the third of the great Florentine trio of Middle Renaissance painters; but while Ghirlandajo and Botticelli were always intensely personal, and always developed along the same lines, Filippino seems to be three men at three different times; first, the painter of St. Bernard, equalling Botticelli in grace and surpassing him in a certain fervor of feeling; secondly, the painter of the Brancacci frescoes, imitating Masaccio, passing beyond him in scientific acquirement, but falling far behind his grand style; and last of all, the painter of the cycle of St. Thomas, leaving behind him his *quattrocento* charm, still retaining some of his *quattrocento* awkwardness, but attaining dramatic composition and becoming a precursor of Raphael.

BERNARDO PINTURICCHIO, PAINTER OF PERUGIA.[1]

[Born 1454; died 1513.]

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AS many are aided by fortune, without being endowed with extraordinary ability, so are there numbers of able men, on the contrary, who are constantly persecuted by an adverse destiny. From this we perceive clearly, that fortune's favourite children are those who depend on her only, unaided by ability of any kind, for it pleases her to exalt such by her favour, as would never have made themselves known by means of their own merit, and of this we have an instance in Pinturicchio, of Perugia;[2] who, although he performed

[1] Bernardino di Benedetto di Biagio, called il Pinturicchio, Pintoricchio, or Pintoriccio, the Little Painter, or, as a French critic has more picturesquely translated it, "*Le petit Peinturlureur.*" He was also sometimes called *Il Sordichio*, on account of his deafness.

[2] Many art writers have pointed out the injustice of Vasari's judgment of Pinturicchio, a judgment which is, however, based upon facts, but which the biographer occasionally allows to become distorted through exaggeration.

many labours, and received aid from many persons, had nevertheless a much greater name than was merited by his works. Pinturicchio did indeed obtain much opportunity for practice, and had considerable facility in the execution of works of a large kind ; he constantly kept about him a large number of assistants, from whom he had much help in his works. Having painted many pictures in his youth, under Pietro Perugino, his master, for which he obtained the third part of all the gains made by them ; Pinturicchio was invited to Siena, where he was employed by Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini to paint the library which had been erected in the cathedral of that city by Pope Pius II.[3] It is indeed true, that the sketches and cartoons for all the stories which he executed in that place were by the hand of Raffaello da Urbino,[4] then a youth, who had been his com-

[3] It was Cardinal Piccolomini who built the Library, not his uncle, Pius II.

[4] There has been much controversy about these frescoes and Raphael's work for them. M. Müntz, in his Life of Raphael, concludes that the latter made the studies for the cartoons. These designs are superior in movement, grace, and style to the frescoes. Reproductions of these preliminary drawings from the Uffizi, in Florence ; from the Casa Baldeschi, in Perugia ; from the Duke of Devonshire's collection, at Chatsworth, are placed side by side with the frescoes of the Libreria in Herr Schmarsow's *Raphael und Pinturicchio in Siena*, Stuttgart, 1880. Herrn Grimm and Schmarsow are convinced that they have discovered the signature of Raphael in the inscription on the design (now in the Uffizi) for the Departure of Æneas Sylvius with the Cardinal Capranica. Morelli ascribed all these drawings to Pinturicchio himself, and found it improbable that Pinturicchio, a man fifty years old, who had done important work in Rome, should have allowed a youth of twenty to make the sketches and cartoons for the Library. Mr. J. H. Middleton, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, decided, after an examination of the testimony *pro* and *con*, "that the evidence which would give Raphael an important share in the execution of these fine paintings amounts to very little." In the original contract between the painter and the Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini (given in full by Milanesi, III., p. 519) it was specially provided that the arabesques of the ceiling, the drawing of the cartoons, and their transference to the walls should be done by Pinturicchio himself, and that all the *heads* should be painted by his own hand. The position of the Cardinal's coat-of-arms and the number of the compositions were agreed upon ; the artist pledged himself to use gold, ultramarine, pale blue, and green paint of a good quality, to work on the wet plaster (*al fresco*), and to retouch when the walls were dry (*a secco*). Mr. Middleton, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, draws attention to the fact that though these paintings are laid in with true fresco colors, but little *fresco buono* is visible in them. They have

panion and fellow-disciple with the above-named Pietro, whose manner had been perfectly acquired by Raffaello.[5] One of these Cartoons is still to be seen in Siena, and some of the sketches, by the hand of Raffaello, are in our book. In this work, which is divided into ten compartments or stories, Pinturicchio was aided by numerous disciples and assistants, all of the school of Pietro Perugino.[6] The first division or picture represents the birth of Pope Pius II.,[7]

been painted over later with brighter colors than could have been used on the damp plaster. This retouching, common to all *frescanti*, was more frequently employed by Pinturicchio than by most artists. In the case of the frescoes of the Library it has produced so brilliant an effect that every visitor is astonished by what seems to him the almost incredible state of preservation of the work.

[5] Perugino was only eight years older than Pinturicchio. The latter was probably a pupil of Bonfigli or Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. In the little pictures by the latter, of which a whole series exists in the Pinacoteca of Perugia, the anecdotic tendencies and the entertaining use of the most picturesque contemporaneous costume offer a precedent to Pinturicchio which the most casual observer must notice. Here, too, is the dryness of Pinturicchio, the same aridity of background, in artist's parlance the same lack of envelopment. Had Perugino been Pinturicchio's original master, he would surely have done away with, or at least modified, this hardness in his pupil's work.

[6] 1502–1509.

[7] The birth of Æneas Sylvius does not form the subject of any one of the frescoes. The first panel represents the Departure of Æneas Sylvius with Cardinal Capranica for the Council of Basle. The series of frescoes impresses the visitor as the best preserved in Italy. Such wonderful preservation, although immensely effective, does not necessarily infer in this effectiveness the presence of those qualities which in a *frescante* may be accounted as even technically the highest. The liberal retouching *a secco*, that is to say, the repainting (by Pinturicchio) with dry color after the first true fresco had been absorbed by the plaster has given to the works an astonishing brightness and an occasional regilding of the parts originally touched with gold has added to this brightness, until some of these figures appear to have been painted only yesterday. But it must be understood that, for the sake of this brightness, Pinturicchio sacrificed transparency and harmony. The *a secco* retouching produces an opacity of color wherever it is used; in a word, the painter has sacrificed true richness of color to that factitious richness which is only brilliancy of surface. The impression afforded by the Sienese Library, which is genuine and abiding, is that of decorative completeness, of homogeneousness, and of a certain splendid gayety. The secular impression is, above all, surprising, as one passes through the doorway which opens directly from the cathedral into the Library. The Duomo of Siena, in spite of its nobility and beauty, is too sumptuous, too much of a museum to be accounted among the most solemn of shrines; but it is solemn indeed if compared with its neigh-

which took place in the year 1405; he was the son of Silvio Piccolomini and Victoria his wife, the baptismal name of Pope Pius II. was Eneas, and he was born in Valdorcia, in the castle of Corsignana, now called Pienza, from his name of Pius, he having afterwards elevated the place to the rank of a city. In this picture are portraits from the life of the above-named Silvio and Victoria, and in the same work the Pope is himself seen as he proceeds with Domenico, cardinal of Capranica, to cross the Alps, which are covered with ice and snow, on his way to the Council of Basle.

In the second picture is the same Eneas, when sent by the council on various embassies and to different legations; to Strasburg namely, whither he proceeded three times; to Trent, to Constance, to Frankfort, and into Savoy. In the third picture is Eneas, when despatched by the Anti-pope Felix, as ambassador to the Emperor Frederick III. With this sovereign, the grace, address, and eloquence of Eneas found so much favour, that he was crowned with laurel as a poet by Frederick, who appointed him protonotary, re-

bor, the Library, which stands at its side, and indeed almost within it, like a pretty acolyte at the elbow of some gorgeously robed archbishop. Here the Renaissance has full play in the carved pilasters, in the scroll-work of the vaulting, and even in the stained glass, and here, more than anywhere, M. Müntz, in criticising Pinturicchio, may justifiably use his clever quotation of the tombal inscription to the child who had danced for the Romans twelve hundred years before, "*saltavit et placuit.*" But the painter, though no stylist, is a true decorator in the abundance of his cheerful motives, in his choice of entertaining material, and the realization of a most picturesque effect; by right of all this, *placuit* truly, but by right of it, also, he pleases still, and will always please. He is no dramatist, but he is a delightful story-teller, and, like the mediæval singers of interminable romance, he rambles far afield, and often loses the thread of his narrative in a labyrinth of episodes. But as the eye wanders with a certain pleased curiosity from a jewelled caparison to a quaintly slashed jerkin; from a youthful, wistful face, to a white castellated town half-hidden in sombre verdure, we pardon this wealth of detail. The lovely adolescents, with their vague, wide-eyed glance and their dreamy, distant smile; the sumptuous yet exquisite costumes; above all, the sense of inexhaustible, facile invention blind us at first to the defects in the drawing, and to the isolation of the painted personages who, each one of them, seems to be leading a separate existence of his own and has little or no relation to the other figures in the same composition.

ceived him into the number of his friends, and made him his principal secretary.[8] In the fourth picture Eneas is sent by the Emperor Frederick to Pope Eugenius IV., by whom he was first made bishop of Trieste, and afterwards archbishop of Siena, his native city.[9] In the next compartment (the fifth) is the same Emperor, who is proceeding into Italy, to receive the crown of the empire, and who therefore dispatches Eneas to Telamone, a port belonging to the Sienese, for the purpose of meeting Leonora his consort, who was to come thither from Portugal.[10] In the sixth picture Eneas is sent by the Emperor to Pope Calixtus III., in order to induce the latter to make war against the Turks; and in this compartment there also appears the above-named Pontiff, by whom Eneas is entrusted with the task of negociating conditions of peace at Siena; which city had been attacked by the Count of Pitigliano and others, at the instigation of Alfonso, King of Naples.[11] The peace thus sought being secured, war against the people of the east is determined on, and Eneas, having returned to Rome, is made cardinal by the Pope above-named. In the seventh picture Eneas is seen exalted, on the death of Calixtus, to be himself Pope, and takes the name of Pius II. In the eighth, the Pope proceeds to Mantua, where the council respecting the expedition against the Turks is held, and where he is received by the Marquis of Mantua with the most splendid festivities, and a magnificence almost inconceivable. In the

[8] In 1445.

[9] Æneas was made Bishop, not Archbishop, of Siena, by Nicholas V., the successor of Eugenius IV., in 1449.

[10] The fifth picture represents the marriage of the Emperor with Eleanor of Portugal, before the Porta Camollia, at Siena.

[11] The sixth fresco represents Æneas being made a Cardinal by Pope Nicholas V., not by his successor, Calixtus III. It contains, or is believed to contain, the portraits of Pinturicchio and Raphael, then a youth. For the controversy regarding the presence of the latter in Siena, and especially concerning the authenticity of the so-called Raphael's sketch-book in the Academy of Venice, Morelli, Müntz, Schmarsow, and other critics should be read. Morelli is the warm defender of what he considers to be Pinturicchio's rights in the matter.

ninth compartment, the same Pope places in the catalogue of saints, or as they call it, canonizes, Santa Catarina of Siena, a holy woman, and a Nun of the Dominican Order. In the tenth and last, Pope Pius, while preparing an immense armada against the Turks, with the help and concurrence of all Christian princes, is overtaken by death at Ancona; when a hermit of Camaldoli, a holy man, sees the soul of his Holiness borne to heaven by angels at the very moment of his death, as may be found duly recorded. In another part of the same picture, the remains of Pope Pius II. are borne from Ancona to Rome by a most honourable company of prelates and nobles innumerable, who bewail the death of so great a man and so holy a Pontiff. The whole of this work is rich in portraits from the life, of which there are so many, that it would be a long story even to recount the names.[12] The pictures are all painted with the finest and most animated colours, they are besides decorated with ornaments in gold, and the ceiling is divided into very well designed compartments. Beneath each story is a Latin inscription, explaining the contents of the picture above. In the centre of the same library, Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, nephew to Pope Pius II., caused a beautiful antique group, in marble, to be placed. This represents the three graces, and was one of the first antiquities which at that time began to be held in esteem.[13] This library, in which

[12] The real order of the subjects of these frescoes is as follows: 1. Æneas Sylvius accompanies Cardinal Capranica to the Council of Basle. 2. He appears before the King of Scotland as envoy from the Council of Basle. 3. The Emperor Frederick III. crowns him with the poet's laurel. 4. He is sent by the Emperor to Pope Eugenius IV. 5. The Emperor Frederick marries Eleanora of Portugal outside the Camollia gate at Siena. 6. Æneas Sylvius is made Cardinal by Pope Nicholas V. 7. He becomes Pope, under the name of Pius II. 8. He assembles the Italians in Mantua for a crusade against the Turk. 9. He canonizes Saint Catherine of Siena. 10. He arrives at Ancona to urge on the crusade.

[13] This group of the Three Graces remained in the Library until 1857, when it was removed by the request of Pius IX. It is now in the Opera del Duomo. A *replica* of this group has been recently discovered in the Colonna Gardens on the Quirinal. See the American Archæological Journal, II., p. 223. Morelli, Italian Masters in German Galleries, p. 327, ascribes to Pinturicchio

were placed all the books left by Pope Pius II., was not entirely completed when the above-named Cardinal Francesco, nephew of Pius II., was himself elected Pope. In memory of his uncle he determined to take the name of Pius III., and the same Pinturicchio was then commissioned to depict the coronation of Pope Pius III., in a very large painting, over that door of the library which opens into the cathedral. This picture occupies the whole extent of the wall; it has many portraits from the life, and beneath it is the following inscription :—

Pius III. senensis, Pii II. nepos MDIII. *Septembris* XXI, *apertis electus suffragiis, octavo octobris coronatus est.*

While Pinturicchio was working in Rome with Pietro Perugino, during the pontificate of Pope Sixtus, he had been also in the service of Domenico della Rovere, Cardinal of San Clemente, wherefore that prelate having built a very fine palace in the *Borgo Vecchio*, determined that the whole should be painted by Pinturicchio, who was commanded to place on the façade of the building the arms of Pope Sixtus, with two boys for supporters.[14] The same artist also executed certain works for Sciarra Colonna, in the palace of Sant' Apostolo ;[15] and no long time after, in the year 1484 that is to say, Pope Innocent VIII., who was a Genoese, caused Pinturicchio to paint some of the halls and loggie in the palace of the Belvidere.[16] In this building, among other things, he painted a Loggia entirely with landscapes, according to the command of the same Pope, and depicted therein Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Naples, after the manner of the Flemings, and this, being a thing not then customary, gave considerable satisfaction. In the

the drawing of two of the figures of the Graces. Other critics attribute the latter to Raphael. See M. Müntz, *Raphaël*, p. 126.

[14] According to Milanesi some vestiges of the Cardinal's arms are all that is left of these paintings.

[15] These works are destroyed.

[16] In Rome.

same place, Pinturicchio painted a figure of the Virgin in fresco, over the principal door.[17]

In San Pietro, for the chapel wherein the spear which pierced the side of Christ is preserved, Pinturicchio painted a picture in tempera, by command of Pope Innocent VIII., being a figure of the Virgin, larger than life;[18] and in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo,[19] he painted two chapels, one for the above-named Domenico della Rovere, cardinal of San Clemente, in which he was buried,[20] and the other, for the Cardinal Innocenzio Cibo, wherein he also was afterwards interred.[21] In each of these chapels was placed the portrait of the cardinal, who had caused it to be adorned with paintings. In the palace of the Pope, Pinturicchio painted certain apartments which look upon the Court of St. Peter, the wood-work and paintings of which were renewed some few years since by Pope Pius IV. In the same palace, Pope Alexander VI. caused Pinturicchio to decorate all the rooms inhabited by himself, together with the whole of the *Torre Borgia*,[22] where the artist painted stories

[17] Taja, *Descrizione del Vaticano*, 1750, describes these pictures. They were restored under Pius VII.

[18] This picture has perished.

[19] 1483–1485.

[20] There are a *Presepio* (*Præsepium*), a San Girolomo, and six *lunettes* with stories from the lives of the saints. These are in the Rovere, now Venuti (first) chapel, in right aisle. In the third chapel are a Madonna and Saints, a figure of God the Father, and scenes from the life of the Virgin. The choir of the church has a ceiling by Pinturicchio, the Virgin and the Saviour with the Evangelists, the Sibyls and the Fathers of the Church; these are some of Pinturicchio's most important works. The Sibyls are peculiarly fantastical and fascinating in their mixed character of mediævalism and pseudo-classicism.

[21] Over the high altar in this chapel was an Adoration of the Kings. The Madonna in the picture was, according to Morelli, identical with a drawing in the collection of the so-called Raphael Sketch-book in Venice. This picture, however, was painted in 1483, the year of Raphael's birth. The Cibo Chapel was modernized in 1700 and the Pinturicchio frescoes destroyed.

[22] The scenes painted in these rooms are somewhat differently catalogued by different writers. M. Müntz gives them as follows: Hall "of the Pontiffs," decorated under Leo X. by Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga. 2. Hall "of the Virgin and Christ" (*Sala delle Miscellanee*), the Annunciation; the Nativity; the Adoration of the Magi; the Resurrection (with a kneeling fig-

of the liberal arts in one of the rooms, and adorned all the ceilings with ornaments in stucco-work and gold; but the methods now practised in stucco were not known at that time, and the above-mentioned ornaments are for the most part ruined. Over the door of one of the rooms in the same palace, Pinturicchio portrayed the Signora Giulia Farnese

ure of Alexander VI.); also eight half-length figures. 3. Hall "of the Lives of the Saints" (*Sala delle Stampe*), S. Catherine of Alexandria before Valerian; the Visitation; the Death of Saints Barbara and Juliana; the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian; Alexander VI. adoring the Virgin (this figure is supposed to be a portrait of the Pope's mistress, Giulia Farnese; it should be compared with another portrait of this celebrated beauty, the statue, which, once nude, now covered by painted tin draperies, still remains in Saint Peter's on the tomb of her brother, Pope Paul III.). On the vaulting of the *Sala delle Stampe* is the story of Osiris, the Egyptian legend having been apparently used in order that the sacred bull, Apis, might suggest the bull which figured upon the escutcheon of the Borgia. Still more remote allusions have been referred to by Herr Schmarsow, as, for instance, the story of Jupiter and Io. Such far-fetched *concetti* were common enough in the Renaissance, when patrons and painters were alike familiar with a fantastic language of symbol and emblem. 4. Hall "of the Sciences and Liberal Arts" (*Sala dei Classici*) contains various groups with figures personifying the different liberal arts; a dramatic episode, the Justice of Trajan, and scenes from the stories of Lot and of Jacob; the latter were repainted in the sixteenth century. M. Müntz catalogues a fifth hall "of the Credo," or of the *Libri Tedeschi*, but he does not specify its decoration, mentioning as "the last hall" the one called "of the Sibyls," and also "*delle Storie*," which contains twenty-four half-length sibyls and prophets and personifications of the planets. The decorations of the first hall are by G. da Udine and P. del Vaga, those of the last are attributed to various masters; the decorations of all the other rooms are by Pinturicchio himself. These frescoes of the Borgia apartments, which have until recently been seen by few travellers are remarkable for their fresco color, which is probably the richest in Italy. Not that there is any specially thoughtful *scheme* of color, but a bold opposition of brilliant tones plentifully sprinkled with gold, abounding in ultramarine, and the whole made rich, soft, and splendid by the toning of nearly four centuries. The restorer has here, as elsewhere, done something to preserve and much to harm; but these remarkable rooms should be seen by every special student of decoration, and indeed by any one who wishes to realize how rich fresco color can become under certain favorable conditions of vigorous first painting, use of gold, fading, and disintegration. Here, as in the church of Assisi (though with a far less solemn effect), the fresco almost reaches the richness and force of mosaic. It is probable that, as usual, Pinturicchio's original work here was somewhat opaque and crude from retouching *a secco*, but in its present condition it is magnificent, and its actual state is all that the student need ask as a lesson in the production of a splendid effect.

in the face of a Madonna; and in the same picture is a figure in adoration of the Virgin, the head of which is a portrait of Pope Alexander.

Bernardino was much in the habit of decorating his pictures with ornaments in relief covered with gold, for the satisfaction of persons who understood but little of such matters, to the end that they might have a more showy appearance, a thing which is most unsuitable to painting.[23] Having depicted a story from the life of Santa Catarina in the above named apartments, he executed the triumphal arches of Rome therefore in relief, and painted the figures in such a manner that the objects which should diminish are brought more prominently forward than those which should be larger to the eye, a grievous heresy in our art.

In the Castle of St. Angelo, Pinturicchio painted a large number of rooms in what are called *grottesche*, but in the lower part of the great tower in the garden, he painted events from the life of Pope Alexander, wherein he portrayed Isabella the Catholic Queen (Isabella of Spain) Niccolò Orsino, Count of Pitigliano, and Gianiacomo Triulzi, with many other relations and friends of the same Pope, in particular Cæsar Borgia, his brother and sisters,[24] with many learned or otherwise distinguished men of that time.

[23] This is captious criticism. Raised ornaments in stucco and gilding were used in their pictures by Botticelli, Gozzoli, and other painters whom Vasari praises; yet it must be admitted that he also credits Ghirlandajo with having rejected gold ornament as unnecessarily gorgeous. The great objection to any object modelled in actual relief upon the flat surface of a fresco is that it never takes its natural place in the picture, but remains always in advance even of the first plane.

[24] Cæsar Borgia had one sister, the celebrated Lucrezia and two brothers, Giovanni, whom he is supposed to have murdered, and Giuffrè. These pictures for Sant' Angelo have perished. Lorenzo Behaim, cited by Milanesi, III., p. 500, note 2, describes them as a glorification of Pope Alexander as triumphant over Charles VIII. of France. There were six compositions: 1. Charles Kneeling before the Pope. 2. Charles Proffering Obedience to the Consistory. 3. The Creation of two French Cardinals. 4. Charles Assisting the Pope, who says Mass in S. Peter's. 5. Charles in the Suite of the Pope during the Procession of San Paolo. 6. Charles Starting for Naples, accompanied by Cæsar Borgia and Djem, the brother of the Sultan.

At Monte Oliveto, in Naples, there is a picture of the Assumption, in the chapel of Paolo Tolosa, by the hand of Pinturicchio,[25] who executed a large number of works in different parts of Italy, but as they were not of any great distinction, although displaying facility, I pass them over in silence. Pinturicchio used to say that the highest excellence attained by the painter was ever to be found in such works as were executed from his own inspiration, without the intervention of princes or others. This artist worked also in Perugia, but on few occasions only.[26] In the church of Ara Coeli,[27] he painted the chapel of San Bernardino,

[25] This is considered to be one of his best works.

[26] There is a Holy Family in the Pinacoteca of Perugia, and also a small picture which once belonged to the Society of Sant' Agostino. A Crucifixion painted for the church of San Francesco is now in Paris, and in the Vatican Gallery is a Coronation of the Virgin, brought from Perugian territory. For documents concerning the latter, see *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, III. 465, and also A. Venturi, *La Galleria Vaticana*, 1890. Morelli, in his Italian Painters, I., p. 114, ascribes to Pinturicchio, in the Borghese Gallery of Rome, a Crucifixion (attributed to Crivelli), and a S. Bartholomew (attributed to Giov. Spagna), while he rejects the two *cassoni* pictures attributed to Pinturicchio by the catalogue.

[27] These frescoes, executed for the Bufalini of Città di Castello, in the Ara Coeli at Rome, are injured, but important examples of the master's work. Vasari does not mention the remarkable series (1501) in the Baglioni chapel of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Spello, a small town on the road from Assisi to Foligno. These frescoes, which represent the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, and Christ among the Doctors, are among the most important works of the artist, and are larger in style than are his other pictures. Morelli has lately made a strong and convincing plea for Pinturicchio, in which he restores to that painter two of the great frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, long ascribed to Perugino, namely, the Baptism of Christ and Moses Leaving Egypt (see "Italian Masters in German Galleries," pp. 265-269). Morelli bases his attribution upon the "poetical landscape-backgrounds," the overcrowding of the composition, the character of some of the children's figures (to be compared with children in the Ara Coeli frescoes), the bearded men at the extreme right of the Baptism of Christ, the angels, the youth in gold brocade, and the naked youths in the centre of the composition. Morelli insists particularly upon the poetry of Pinturicchio's landscapes; he was noted for the latter, as is proved by Vasari's text, but it is hard to reconcile great sentiment of landscape with the lack of feeling for atmosphere which is shown in the painter's frequent retouching *a secco*. In any case, the Sistine frescoes add greatly to the dignity and importance of Pinturicchio as an artist.

and in Santa Maria del Popolo, where, as we have already said, he painted two chapels; he likewise executed figures of the four Doctors of the Church, on the ceiling of the principal chapel.[28]

When Pinturicchio had attained the age of fifty-nine, he received a commission to paint a picture of the Birth of the Virgin for San Francesco, in Siena,[29] and having commenced the work, a room was appropriated to his use by the monks, which was given up to him, as he desired it should be, entirely empty and denuded of every thing, a massive old chest alone excepted; this they left in its place, finding it too heavy for removal. But Pinturicchio, like a strange self-willed man as he was, made so much clamour, and repeated his outcries so often, that the monks set themselves at last, in very desperation, to carry the chest away. Now in dragging it forth, such was their good fortune, that one of the sides was broken, when a sum of 500 ducats in gold was brought to light: this discovery caused Pinturicchio so much vexation, and he took the good fortune of those poor friars so much to heart, that he could think of nothing else, and so grievously did this oppress him, that not being able to get it out of his thoughts, he finally died of vexation.[30] His paintings were executed about the year 1513.

And this shall be the end of the life of Pinturicchio, who

[28] There are also four Evangelists, a Coronation of the Virgin, and four Sibyls, the latter fantastically charming, half-mediæval, half-Renaissance, and wholly decorative.

[29] Destroyed by fire in 1655. See Milanesi, III., pp. 500–501, for a long note on Pinturicchio's work at Orvieto, which was begun but never finished, and of which next to nothing remains. Della Valle states that there was a quarrel with the cathedral board about the wine which the artist required, and, above all, about the vast quantities of ultramarine which he used in his work.

[30] Vasari's account of the cause of Pinturicchio's death is contradicted by the testimony of Sigismondo Tizio, a Sienese historian who lived in the same parish with the unfortunate painter. Tizio writes that the women of the neighborhood told him that when Pinturicchio was ill, his wife, Grania, and her lover, a Perugian soldier, shut him up in the house and left him to die of hunger and neglect, nor did she allow any of the neighbors who heard his cries to go to his assistance. He died on the 11th of December, 1513.

among other qualities, possessed that of giving considerable satisfaction to princes and nobles, because he quickly brought the works commanded by them to an end, as they like to have done, although such works may, perchance, be less excellent than those of masters who proceed more slowly, and with greater consideration.[31]

[31] Pinturicchio is one of the very few painters—perhaps Sodoma is the only other—to whom Vasari does injustice. It is quite true that his draughtsmanship is affected with a certain poverty, a certain pinched and dry quality; true also that he had little skill in composing masses; that his compositions are often, in artists' phrase, full of holes; nevertheless the fact remains that he had a very strong decorative sense, for wherever he has covered a wall with his work he had left an *ensemble* which is eminently decorative. As regards his color in the Borgia apartments, he has left the richest, and in the library of Siena the best preserved series of frescoes of the Renaissance. It must be admitted that even his decorative sense is not of the highest order; he had none of that noble subordination of line and mass to the circumscribing architectural form which afterward made the monumental painting of his young comrade Raphael the most perfectly decorative work in Italy, but within his limitations Pinturicchio was also a true decorator. His thin-limbed, sweet-faced youths, rather mincing in their parti-colored doublets and striped hose, very treasures to the student of costume, do not combine into imposing masses and make a sort of open-work pattern upon the backgrounds that suggests a lack of solidity and dignity (the same fault in a less degree may sometimes be found in Perugino), yet they never fail to please; architecture, landscape, animals, gold ornaments in abundance, and the floods of ultramarine which frightened the cathedral wardens of Orvieto, all make up a charming whole. There is little of imagination in this work, but there is (and it is enough) an ever-present, tireless fancy, a joyous and fertile inventiveness.

FRANCESCO FRANCIA, THE BOLOGNESE, GOLDSMITH AND PAINTER [1]

[Born 1450; died 1517.]

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FRANCESCO FRANCIA was born in Bologna, in the year 1450, of parents in the rank of artisans, but respectable and well-conducted people. In his first youth he was destined to the calling of the goldsmith; and labouring at the same with ability and good-will, his progress in his art kept fair proportion with his increase of stature. His manner and conversation were so gentle and obliging, that he kept all around him in good humour, and had the gift of dissipating the heavy thoughts of the most melancholy by the charms of his conversation: for these reasons he was not only beloved by all who were acquainted with him, but in the course of time he obtained the favour of many princes and nobles, Italian and others. While still working at his trade of a goldsmith,[2] Francesco applied himself to design, in which he took much pleasure, and the

[1] Francesco di Marco di Giacomo Raibolini, called Francesco Francia or Il Francia.

[2] Francia became steward of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1483. He took the name of his master, a celebrated goldsmith Duc, called Francia (Milanesi, III., 533).

desire for greater things becoming awakened within him, he made extraordinary progress therein, as may still be seen in his native city of Bologna, from the many works he there executed in silver, more particularly from certain specimens of niello,[3] which are most excellent. In this branch of art Francesco often grouped twenty well-proportioned and beautiful figures together, within a space only two inches high, and but little more in length ; he also produced many works in silver enamelled, but these were destroyed at the time of the ruin and exile of the Bentivoglio ; and to say all in a word, he executed every thing that is most beautiful, and which can be performed in that art, more perfectly than any other master had ever done.

But that in which Francesco delighted above all else, and in which he was indeed excellent, was cutting dies for medals ; in this he was highly distinguished, and his works are most admirable, as may be judged from some, on which is the head of Pope Julius II.,[4] so life-like, that these medals will bear comparison with those of Caradosso :[5] he also struck medals of Signor Giovanni Bentivoglio, which seem to be alive ; and of a vast number of princes, who, passing through Bologna, made a certain delay, when he took their portraits in wax, and afterwards, having finished the matrices for the dies, he despatched these to their destination,

[3] *Niello* was a process of decorating an incised metal plate. A black compound, consisting largely of copper, lead, sulphur, ammonium chloride, and borax was introduced into the lines, forming at a high temperature an enamel. The plate was then polished, leaving the black lines on a light ground ; occasionally other colors were introduced. This process is of peculiar interest, as it is believed that intaglio engraving had its rise in the paper proofs which were taken at intervals to judge of the progress of the work. See E. David's *Histoire de la Gravure*, 1842, and Vicomte Henri Delaborde, *La gravure en Italie avant Marc-Antoine*, Paris.

[4] Gaetano Giordani in 1841 exposed the mistakes of Vasari and Cicognara regarding the effigies of this pope, and described the real and rare coins struck by Francia. There are two pyxes, adorned with *niello* work by Francia, in the Bolognese Academy of Fine Arts.

[5] Ambrogio Foppa, called Caradosso, was a native of Pavia. He is, however, usually classed with the artists of Milan. He was noted for the excellence of his dies and his goldsmith's work.

whereby he obtained, not only the immortality of fame, but also very handsome presents.

During the better part of his life, Francesco was Director of the Mint at Bologna; all the dies for the coins, used at the time when the Bentivogli governed there, were prepared by him, as were those struck for Pope Julius II., after their departure and during the whole of that Pontiff's after life: of these may be instanced the money coined by the Pope on his entrance into the city, and which bears the head of his Holiness, taken from the life on one side, with the inscription, *Bononia per Julium a Tyranno liberata*, on the other. And so excellent was Francesco considered to be in this matter, that he continued to make the dies for the coinage, even down to the time of Pope Leo; the impress of his dies is, indeed, in such esteem, and so highly are they valued by those who possess them, that they are not now to be obtained for money.[6]

But Francia still became desirous of greater glory; wherefore, having been acquainted with Andrea Mantegna and many other painters, who had attained to riches and honours by means of their art, he resolved to try whether he could not succeed in that part of painting which belongs to colour, seeing that he had reached to such a point in design, that he might safely assume a place beside any one of them. By way of making an attempt, therefore, he executed a few portraits and other small things, entertaining masters of the art many months in his house, to the end that they might teach him the method and processes of colouring. In this manner Francesco, who had remarkable intelligence and excellent judgment, very rapidly acquired the requisite practice.[7] The first work which he executed was a picture

[6] Francia made coins in 1508 with the effigy of the Pope. A series of bronze coins by him bears the head of Giovanni Bentivoglio II.

[7] He probably became acquainted with Mantegna in 1472. It is thought that he studied painting under Lorenzo Costa, with whom he occupied a house in Bologna; other critics consider that he studied under Marco Zoppo, but the balance of evidence seems to be in favor of Costa. Layard thinks it probable that Francia abandoned the goldsmith's art by the advice of

of no great size, for Messer Bartolommeo Felicini,* who placed it in the Misericordia, a church just without the gate of Bologna. The subject of this painting is a Madonna seated, with many figures around her; among whom is Messer Bartolommeo, portrayed from the life.[8] This work was executed in oil with great care, and when it was finished, in the year 1490, it gave so much satisfaction in Bologna, that Messer Giovanni Bentivoglio became desirous to see his chapel in the church of San Jacopo, of that city, adorned with the works of this new painter; he therefore commissioned Francia to execute a picture, the subject of which was Our Lady appearing in the heavens, with a figure on each side, and two Angels, playing on musical instruments below.[9] This picture also was so admirably painted by Francia, that he not only received many praises from Messer Giovanni, but also a very handsome and most honourable gift. The merits of this work, meanwhile, induced Monsignore de' Bentivogli to give the master a commission for a picture, to be placed over the high altar of the Misericordia.[10] The subject of this painting is the Birth of Christ; it has been highly extolled, and the drawing is very fine, while the invention and colouring are also worthy of praise. The portrait of Monsignore de' Bentivogli is given in the picture, and, according to those who know him, is an excellent like-

Costa. The same authority believes that he was influenced by Ercole Roberti de' Grandi, who was also in Bologna at this time. Pictures of Perugino were carried to Bologna, and Francia adopted the Peruginesque style. There seems to be no connection other than this between Perugino and Francia. See Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in North Italy, I., 558.

* This name, written Felisini in the Milanesi edition of the Lives, is also written Felicini in Milanesi's Notes to Francia.

[8] This picture, which was executed in 1490, as mentioned by Vasari, is in the Academy at Bologna.

[9] Executed in 1499; it is now in the Cappella Bentivogli of San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna. It is one of Francia's best works, and is inscribed "*Johanni Bentivoglio II. Francia Aurifex pinxit.*"

[10] Painted in 1498-99; it is in the Academy at Bologna. The figure with folded hands, usually called the St. Francis, is supposed to be the portrait of Francia.

ness; he wears the dress of a pilgrim, in which he had returned from Jerusalem.[11] For the church of the Nunziata, outside the gate of San Mammolo, Francesco painted a picture, representing the Virgin, when receiving the Annunciation from the Angel: on each side of Our Lady stands a figure, and this work also is esteemed to be very well executed.[12]

While the works of Francia were thus increasing his fame, he determined, finding that painting in oil had brought him so much honour and profit, to try if he could obtain equal success in fresco. Now at the time Messer Giovanni Bentivoglio had caused his palace to be decorated with paintings by different masters from Ferrara, Bologna, and Modena; but having seen the attempts of Francia in fresco, he resolved that the latter should paint the walls of an apartment which was one of those used by himself. Here the master represented the Camp of Holofernes, with numerous Sentinels on foot and on horseback, who are watching the tents. While the attention of these guards is given to other parts, a woman, clothed in the garb of a widow, is seen to approach the sleeping Holofernes; she has seized his hair, heavy with the damps of sleep and the heat of wine, in her left hand, and with the right she is striking the blow that is to destroy her enemy; close beside her there stands an old wrinkled handmaid, in whose face there is, of a truth, the expression of most faithful servitude; she fixes her eyes intently on those of her mistress, whom she seeks to encourage, and she bends herself down as she holds a basket, in which to receive the head of the sleeping lover. This was considered one of the best and most finely executed pictures ever painted by Francia, but was destroyed when the palace was demolished, on the departure of the Bentivogli,[13] together with one in the apartment above. The subject of

[11] Antonio Galeazzo, son of Giovanni II.; he wears the dress of a knight of the Red Cross, not of a pilgrim.

[12] This work, executed in 1500, is still over the high altar.

[13] The Bentivoglio family was exiled in 1507.

the last-mentioned work, which was coloured to resemble bronze, was a disputation of philosophers ; it was admirably executed, and expressed the thought of the master with great effect. All these works caused Francia to be held in the highest esteem and admiration by Messer Giovanni and every one of his house, nay, not only by them, but by all the citizens of Bologna.

In the chapel of Santa Cecilia, which is attached to the church of San Jacopo, Francesco painted two historical pictures in fresco ; in one of these he represented Our Lady, espoused by Joseph ; and in the other the death of Santa Cecilia,[14] a work held in very great estimation by the people of Bologna ;[15] and of a truth, Francia acquired so much facility, and was so much encouraged by seeing his productions attain to the perfection he desired for them, that he executed numberless paintings, of which I cannot record the particulars, it must suffice me to indicate to those who may wish to see his works, the most celebrated and best only.[16] Nor did he permit his painting to interfere with his other works in medals, or to prevent him from giving his attention to the affairs of the mint, as he had done from the beginning. The departure of Messer Giovanni Bentivoglio from the city, caused Francia great sorrow, as it is said ; the exile of one from whom he had received such important benefits grieving him exceedingly ; but yet, like a prudent and moderate person as he was, he continued to pursue his labours with his usual assiduity. After Messer Giovanni had gone therefore, he painted three pictures, which were

[14] The Marriage of St. Cecilia with Valerian rather. The second picture is the Burial of St. Cecilia.

[15] Two of the frescoes in the small chapel or oratory of St. Cecilia are by Francesco Francia, two by Costa, the others are by Giacomo Francia, Chiodarolo, and Aspertini. They represent scenes from the legend of St. Cecilia. The frescoes have been restored by Signor Cavenaghi of Milan, under the immediate direction of the late Giovanni Morelli. These works are Francia's only extant frescoes. See G. Frizzoni, *Gli affreschi di Santa Cecilia in Bologna* in *Il Buonarroti* for 1876.

[16] Michelangelo's coarse jest and his many sarcasms on Francia's work were published in the first and omitted in the second edition of Vasari's Lives.

taken to Modena; in one of these is the Baptism [17] of Christ by St. John, in the second a most beautiful Annunciation,[18] and in the third a Madonna in the heavens, with many other figures; this last was placed in the church belonging to the Frati dell' Osservanza.[19]

By such works, the fame of this excellent master became bruited abroad, and the different cities contended with each other for the possession of his pictures; accordingly he executed one in Parma, for the Black Friars of San Giovanni; the subject is the Pietà, or Christ lying dead in the lap of the Virgin, with numerous figures around. This work is universally admitted to be most beautiful.[20] The same monks, therefore, considering themselves well served in this matter, determined that Francia should paint another in a house of theirs at Reggio in Lombardy, where he also depicted a Madonna with many figures. At Cesena likewise, in a church belonging to the Black Friars, this master painted a Circumcision of Christ, the colouring of which is exceedingly beautiful.[21] Nor would the people of Ferrara consent to remain behind their neighbours, but determined to adorn their cathedral with the works of Francia; whereupon they commissioned him to paint a picture with a large number of figures, and this they entitled the picture of Ognissanti (All Saints).[22] For the church of San Lorenzo, in Bologna, Francia painted a Madonna, with two figures on each side, and two children beneath.[23] This work was highly extolled, and he had scarcely completed it, when he was called on to execute another in Sant' Iobbe (Job), rep-

[17] This picture, executed in 1509, is in the Dresden Gallery. It was injured in the bombardment of Dresden in 1760.

[18] This picture is in the Brera. Milanesi states that the same subject in Modena, once in the Palazzo Ducale and now in the Gallery, is by the Modenese painter Ferrari, and was finished by Scaccieri (1512).

[19] Executed in 1502; it is now in the Berlin Gallery and is badly repainted.

[20] It is in the Gallery of Parma.

[21] It is in the Palazzo Pubblico of Cesena and is much injured.

[22] A Coronation of the Virgin, still in the cathedral.

[23] This picture is at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg; it was painted in 1500.

resenting a Crucifix,* with Sant' Iobbe kneeling at the foot, and two figures at the sides.[24]

The fame and works of this master were effectually extended over Lombardy, and from Tuscany also he received applications for his paintings, as he did from Lucca, whither he dispatched a picture representing Sant' Anna, Our Lady, and many other figures, with Christ lying dead in the lap of the Virgin Mother. This work is in the Church of San Fridiano, † and is considered by the people of Lucca to be one of great value.[25] For the Church of the Nunziata, in Bologna, this master painted two pictures, which were very carefully executed,[26] and for the Misericordia, outside the gate of *Strà Castione*, he also painted one, at the request of a lady of the Manzuoli family: in this he depicted Our Lady with the Child in her arms, San Giorgio, San Giovanni Batista, San Stefano, and Sant' Agostino, with an angel beneath: the hands of the last mentioned are folded in an attitude of so much grace that he seems, indeed, to belong to Paradise.[27] For the Brotherhood of San Francesco, in the same city, Francia painted a picture,[28] as he also did one for the Brotherhood of San Girolamo.[29] This master lived in close intimacy with Messer Polo Zambeccaro, and, for the sake of that friendship, the latter requested him, as a memorial of himself, to paint a tolerably large picture repre-

* Read Crucifixion.

† The church was dedicated to San Frediano, not Fridiano.

[24] Now in the Louvre.

[25] This picture, a Virgin Enthroned, surrounded by Saints, is now in the National Gallery, London. The *Pietà* is in the *lunette*. See Sig. A. Venturi, *L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, II., 441–54, and *La galleria del Campidoglio*, Rome, 1890, for a notice of a picture by Francia (a Presentation of the Virgin) in the Capitoline Gallery, Rome, and see also Sig. G. Cantalamessa, *Lettere e Arte*, No. 7, for a Madonna, brought from Cagliari to Bologna.

[26] There is a Madonna with saints in the Scappi chapel of the Nunziata, and a Crucifixion in the Graffi chapel. Milanesi, III., p. 543.

[27] In the Academy at Bologna.

[28] Said to be in the Berlin Gallery, though there is some doubt whether this particular picture mentioned by Vasari is the one in Berlin.

[29] In the Academy at Bologna.

senting the Birth of Christ: this work was much extolled,[30] and is among the most celebrated of his performances, for which cause Messer Polo commissioned him to paint two figures in fresco, at his villa, and these also are exceedingly beautiful.[31]

Another admirable work in fresco was executed by Francia in the Palace of Messer Geronimo Bolognino: it comprises many varied and beautiful figures, and all these things had obtained for the master so extraordinary a degree of reverence in that city that he was held to be a kind of god,[32] more particularly after he had painted a set of caparisons for the Duke of Urbino, on which he depicted a great forest all on fire, and whence there rushes forth an immense number of every kind of animal, with several human figures. This terrific, yet truly beautiful representation, was all the more highly esteemed for the time that had been expended on it, in the plumage of the birds and other minutiæ, in the delineation of the different animals, and in the diversity of the branches and leaves of the various trees seen therein: the work was rewarded with gifts of great value, and the duke always considered himself obliged to the master, moreover, for the great commendations that were constantly bestowed on it.[33] The Duke Guido Baldo has also a picture by the hand of this master: it represents the Roman Lucretia; it is much esteemed by the duke, and is in his guardaroba, with many other pictures, of which mention will be made in the proper place.[34]

After these things Francia painted a picture for the Altar of the Madonna in the Church of San Vitale and Sant' Agricola: in this there are two angels playing on the lute, which are very beautiful.[35] Of the paintings scattered throughout Bologna, in the houses of the citizens, I will not

[30] In the Museum of Forli.
[31] These works have perished.
[32] These works have also perished.
[33] Nothing is now known of these works.
[34] This work is also lost.
[35] This picture is still in the church.

speak, still less of the vast number of portraits painted by this master; for I should thus become too prolix. Let it suffice to say they were very numerous.

While Francia was thus living in so much glory, and was peacefully enjoying the fruits of his labours, Raffaello da Urbino was working in Rome, where there daily flocked around him numerous foreigners from various parts, and among them many gentlemen of Bologna, anxious to see the works of that master. And as it most commonly happens that every one is ready to extol the distinguished persons of his native place, so these Bolognese began to entertain Raphael with praises of the life, genius, and works of Francia, until so much friendship was established between those two masters, by means of words, that they saluted each other by letter.[36] Then Francia, having heard so much discourse concerning the divine paintings of Raphael, desired to see his works, but he was now old and enjoying his ease in his beloved Bologna. It so chanced, however, that Raphael painted a picture of St. Cecilia in Rome, for the Cardinal of Pucci Santi Quattro, and this was to be sent to Bologna, there to be placed in one of the chapels of San Giovanni-in-Monte,[37] where the tomb of the Beata Elena dell' Olio is to be seen. Having packed up his work, therefore, Raphael addressed it to the care of Francia, who, as being his friend, was to see it placed on the altar of the chapel for which the picture was destined; with the proper framework and ornaments, which had been already prepared for it. This was an office which pleased Francia greatly, since he would thus have the long-desired opportunity of seeing the works of Raphael. Wherefore, having opened the letter written to him by the latter, wherein that master begged him to repair any scratch that might be found on

[36] They were first published in Malvasia's *Felsina Pittrice*. The originals have never been produced. They are considered by the best authorities to be comparatively modern forgeries. Sig. Minghetti, in his *Raffaello*, states that the style is not that of the sixteenth century. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think it probable that Raphael and Francia met in Bologna in 1505-6.

[37] In the Academy at Bologna.

the painting, and further requested, that, if he perceived any defect, he would, as a friend, correct it for him, Francia caused the picture, with the greatest joy, to be taken into a good light, and had it removed from its case. But such was the astonishment it caused him, and so great was his admiration for it, that, perceiving his own error and the foolish presumption with which he had weakly believed in his own superiority, he took it deeply to heart, and, falling ill with his grief, in a very short time he died of its effects.[38]

The picture of Raphael was, indeed, divine—not painted, but absolutely alive : he had executed and finished it to such perfection that among all the admirable works performed by him in his whole life, though every one is beautiful, this may well be called the most exquisite. Comparing the beauties of this most exquisite picture with his own works, which he saw around him, Francia felt as one terrified and half deprived of life : he was, indeed, utterly confounded, but, nevertheless, caused the painting to be placed, with all care and diligence, in the chapel for which it was intended in the church of San Giovanni-in-Monte ; but, having become like a man beside himself, he took to his bed a few days after, appearing to himself to be now almost as nothing in art, when compared with what he had believed himself, and what he had always been considered. Thus he died, as many believe, of grief and vexation, incurring the same fate from so earnestly contemplating the living picture of Raphael, as that which befell Fivizzano, from too fixedly regarding his own beautiful painting of Death, and on which the following epigram was composed :—

Me veram pictor divinus mente recepit,
Admota est operi deinde perita manus,
Dumque opere in facto defigit lumina pictor,
Intentus nimium, palluit et moritur.
Viva igitur sum mors, non mortua mortis imago
Si fungor, quo mors fungitur officio.

[38] Undoubtedly a fable. Similar romantic stories were told of several of the Renaissance artists.

There are, nevertheless, many who declare his death to have been so sudden as to give rise to the belief, which was confirmed by various appearances, that it was caused by poison or apoplexy, rather than anything else. Francia was a man of great prudence: he led a most regular life, and was of a robust constitution. At his death, in the year 1518, he received honourable interment from his sons in Bologna.[39]

[39] Francia represents the school of Bologna at its best; grave and deeply religious, he is sometimes quite noble by force of this earnest gravity. His color is Umbrian in its strength and richness, but is a little heavier than that of Perugino; he is as sincerely reverent as Perugino at his best, yet has not quite the same charm, nor yet any of the latter's affectation. He is more natural and simple than the Umbrian; his art is stamped with the honest, unaffected, burgher piety of Bologna *La Grassa*, rather than with the perfervid ecstasy of mystical and savage Perugia. His types are even homely, but his round-headed, short-bearded saints are beautiful in the *naif* sincerity of their expression; his snub-nosed, heavy-chinned, very earnest, but sometimes rather dull Madonnas look as though Giotto's women had been perfected by fifteenth-century technique upon our master's panels. As a portrait-painter his simplicity and directness, closeness of modelling, and excellent color help to make him admirable and even impressive. There is nothing very salient in his long list of works; his St. Cecilia frescoes are rather entertaining by their quaint costumes than great by other qualities, but his easel pictures are sustained and admirable. In the choir of the Renaissance, his note is grave and instinct with quiet feeling; he has no *roulades* nor flourishes, but among all the painters of the Emilia and the Ferrarese, Costa and Cossa, Tura and the two Ercoles, Roberti and Grandi, by far the fullest chord is struck by Francesco Francia.

PIETRO PERUGINO,[1] PAINTER

[Born 1446; died 1524.]

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THE benefits derived by some men of distinction from the poverty of their youth, and how potent an assistant poverty sometimes proves in the cultivation of the faculties and for the attainment of excellence, may be clearly perceived in the history of Pietro Perugino. This artist, seeking to escape from the extreme of penury in Pe-

[1] Pietro di Christofano Vanucci, called Perugino, was born, 1446, at Castello (now Città) della Pieve. He sometimes signs his works "*Petrus de Castro Plebis.*" For many different signatures and for various orthography see the Appendix to Passavant's *Raphael*. M. Müntz, in his *Raphaël*, calls attention to the fact that Perugino, who was unlettered, made a point of signing and dating his works in Latin, and, strange to say, made no mistakes.

rugia, departed to Florence, hoping, by means of his abilities, to attain to some distinction. He there remained many months without even a bed to lie on, and miserably took his sleep upon a chest; but, turning night into day, and labouring without intermission, he devoted himself most fervently to the study of his profession. Continual labour thus became the habit of his life: he knew no other pleasure than that of toiling incessantly in his vocation, and, therefore, painted perpetually.

Having the prospect and terrors of poverty constantly before his eyes, Pietro undertook works for gain, on which he would probably not have cast his eyes if he had possessed wherewith to support himself; but it is very possible that riches would have closed the path to eminence offered by his talents, as effectually as it was opened to him by poverty and by the impulse received from his need, for he was thereby impelled to struggle, that he might escape from so wretched and debased a condition, and, at least, secure the means of life, if he might not hope to attain to the highest eminence. With this in view he did not permit himself to regard cold, hunger, fatigue, or privation of any kind, nor was he ashamed to perform any work that might help to promote his object, which was to obtain the power of some day living in ease and quietness. It was his wont to say, and almost in the manner of a proverb, that after bad weather the good must come; and that when it is fair weather, a man must build his house, that he may thus be under shelter when he most needs it.

But to the end that the progress of this artist may be the better understood, I begin with his beginning, and relate that, according to common report, there was born in the city of Perugia, to a poor man called Christofano,[2] of Castello della Pieve,[3] a son, whom, at his baptism, they named Pietro.

[2] The family of Pietro, though poor, was not of low condition, having enjoyed the rights of citizenship since 1427. See Mariotti, *Lettere Pittoriche Perugine*, p. 121.

[3] Castello della Pieve is now Città della Pieve.

This child, brought up in penury and want, was given by his father to be the shop-drudge of a painter in Perugia, who was not particularly distinguished in his calling, but held the art in great veneration and highly honoured the men who excelled therein ;[4] nor did he ever cease to set before Pietro the great advantages and honours that were to be obtained from painting, by all who acquired the power of labouring in it effectually ; recounting to him all the rewards bestowed on the various masters, ancient and modern, thereby encouraging Pietro to the study of his art : insomuch that he kindled in the mind of the latter the desire to become one of those masters, as he resolved, if fortune were propitious to him, that he would do. The boy would thus often inquire of such persons as he knew to have seen the world, in what city the best artists were formed ? This question he addressed more particularly to his instructor, from whom he constantly received the same reply, namely, that Florence was the place, above all others, wherein men attain to perfection in all the arts, but more especially in painting. And to this, he said, they were impelled by three causes : first, by the censure freely expressed by so many persons and in such various modes, for the air of that city gives a natural quickness and freedom to the perceptions of men,[5] so that they cannot content themselves with mediocrity in the works presented to them, which they always judge with reference to the honour of the good and beautiful in art, rather than with respect to, or consideration for, the man who has produced them : next, that, to obtain the means of life in Florence, a man must be industrious, which

[4] Morelli (Italian Painters, I., p. 107) believes Perugino to have learned first from Fiorenzo di Lorenzo at Perugia, then of Piero della Francesca at Arezzo, and thinks that he was a finished artist when he went, soon after 1470, to Florence. He has been called the pupil of Verrocchio in the latter city, but Morelli finds no trace of Andrea's influence in Perugino's early work, and thinks that Pietro's *Tondo* in the Louvre recalls Fiorenzo, while his *Pietà* and altar-piece of the Calza show the influence of Signorelli. Some critics have named Bonfigli and Alunno as his masters.

[5] The Florentines seem to have shared with the ancient Athenians this belief in the efficacy of the native air.

is as much as to say that he must keep his skill and judgment in perpetual activity, must be ever ready and rapid in his proceedings ; must know, in short, how to gain money, seeing that Florence, not having a rich and abundant domain around her, cannot supply the means of life to those who abide within her walls, at light cost, as can be done in countries where produce abounds largely. The third cause, which is, perhaps, not less effectual than the other two, is the desire for glory and honour, which is powerfully generated by the air of that place, in the men of every profession, and whereby all who possess talent are impelled to struggle, that they may not remain in the same grade with those whom they perceive to be only men like themselves (much less will any consent to remain behind another), even though they may acknowledge such to be indeed Masters; but all labour by every means to be foremost, insomuch that some desire their own exaltation so eagerly as to become thankless for benefits, censorious of their competitors, and, in many ways, evil minded, unless that effect be prevented by natural excellence and sense of justice. It is, however, true that when a man has acquired sufficient for his purposes in Florence, if he wish to effect more than merely to live from day to day, as do the beasts that perish, and desire to become rich, he must depart from her boundaries and seek another market for the excellence of his works and for the reputation conferred by that city ; as the learned derive profit from the renown obtained by their studies. For the city of Florence treats her artists as Time treats his works, which, having perfected he destroys, and, by little and little, gradually consumes.

Influenced by these counsels, therefore, and moved by the persuasions of various persons, Pietro repaired to Florence with the determination to attain excellence, and in this he succeeded well, for, at that time, works in his manner were held in the highest esteem. He studied under the discipline of Andrea Verrocchio,[6] and the first figures painted

[6] See note 4.

by him were executed for the Nuns of San Martino, at a convent without the gate of Prato, but which has now been ruined by the wars. At the Carthusian Monastery, also, he painted a San Girolamo in fresco, which was then highly esteemed by the Florentines, and is often cited by them with commendation, because the saint was represented as old, meagre, and wan, with the eyes fixed on the cross; nay, he was depicted as worn and consumed by fasting to such a degree that he was little more than a skeleton, as may be still seen from a copy of that picture which is now in the possession of the before-mentioned Bartolommeo Gondi.[7] In a few years Pietro attained to such a height of reputation, that his works were dispersed, not only through Florence and all over Italy, but in France, Spain, and other countries, whither they had been despatched. His paintings being thus held in high estimation, and bearing a very great price, the merchants began to make purchases of them and to send them into different lands, to their great gain and advantage.

For the Nuns of Santa Chiara, Pietro painted a picture of the Dead Christ,[8] the colouring of which was so beautiful as well as new, that it awakened in the artists of the time an expectation of the excellence which Pietro was destined to attain. In this work there are some most admirable heads of old men, and the Maries also, having ceased to weep, are contemplating the departed Saviour with an expression of reverence and love which is singularly fine:

[7] Both the original and the copy have disappeared.

[8] This *Pietà*, executed in 1495, is in the Pitti, and there are three studies for it in black and white in the Uffizi. Perugino was one of the first masters in central Italy to handle the new oil medium successfully, as is shown in this *Pietà*. The fact helps to explain the quantity and commercial popularity of his panel pictures. In 1493 he had not as yet mastered the new medium, but the portrait of Francesco delle Opere in the Uffizi (and there called a portrait of Perugino by himself) was painted in oil in 1494. (MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, quote the date as 1491), but Morelli has shown that Pietro probably learned to work in oil in Venice, *circa* 1494, and has published a letter of the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, written in 1496, proving that the latter wished to take Perugino into his own service.

there is, besides, a landscape, which was then considered to be exceedingly beautiful ; the true method of treating landscapes, which was afterwards discovered, not having then been adopted. It is related that Francesco del Pugliese offered to give the Nuns three times as much as they had paid Pietro for that picture, and to cause another exactly like it to be executed for them by the same hand ; but they would not consent, because Pietro had told them that he did not think he could equal the one they possessed.[9]

In the convent of the Frati-Gesuati, also, beyond the Pinti Gate, there were various works by this master, and as that monastery and church are both destroyed, I will not refuse the labour of describing them, but will take this occasion, before proceeding further with the life before me, to say a few words concerning them.[10] The architecture of the church was due to Antonio di Giorgio, of Settignano ; it was forty braccia long and twenty broad. At the upper end, four steps or stairs conducted to a platform of six braccia, on which stood the high altar, magnificently decorated with ornaments of cut stone ; and over this altar, also in a richly adorned frame-work, was a picture by the hand of Domenico Ghirlandajo, as we have before related. In the midst of the church was a screen, or wall of separation, in the centre of which was a door worked in open work from the middle upwards. On each side of this door stood an altar, and over each altar was a picture by the hand of Pietro Perugino, as will be related hereafter. Over the door, also, was a most beautiful Crucifix by Benedetto da Maiano, on one side of which was a Madonna, and on the other a figure of San Giovanni, both in relief. Before the platform of the high altar, and against the screen above mentioned, was a choir of the Doric order, admirably carved in walnut wood, and over the principal

[9] Rumohr (*Ital. Forsch.*, II., p. 345) calls attention to the fact that Vasari is describing a mature work as one of Pietro's youth. Perugino was in Florence as early as 1470, the *Pietà* is of 1495.

[10] This convent was destroyed in the siege of Florence in 1529.

door of the church was another choir, or gallery, supported on a strong wood-work, the under part of which as seen from below represented a canopy, overlaid with a rich decoration in beautifully arranged compartments; a balustrade was added, by way of defence to that part which was opposite to the high altar. This choir was exceedingly commodious for the friars of that convent during the performance of their nocturnal services, or when engaged in their private devotions: it was, besides, very useful to them on all festivals and holidays. Over the principal door of the church, which was amply decorated with beautiful ornaments in stone, and with a portico reposing on fine columns, which extended even to the door of the convent, was the figure of the Bishop San Giusto, in a lunette, with an angel on each side, by the hand of the master in miniature, Gherardo; a very fine work, and placed there because the church was dedicated to San Giusto. Within the building there was a relic preserved by those friars, an arm of the saint, namely. At the entrance to the convent was a small cloister, the extent of which was exactly equal to that of the church, forty braccia long that is, and twenty broad. The arches and vaulting of this cloister were supported by columns of stone, and the whole formed a spacious and very commodious loggia, or gallery, entirely around the building. In the centre of the court of the cloister, which was neatly paved all over with cut stones, was an extremely beautiful fountain, with a loggia above it, also built on stone columns, which made a rich and handsome ornament to the place. In this cloister was the chapter-house of the monks, with the lateral door of the church and the stairs which ascended to the upper stories, where were dormitories and other apartments for the use of the brotherhood. On the further side of the cloister, and exactly opposite to the principal door of the convent, was a spacious avenue, the length of which was equal to that of the chapter-house and the chancery: this avenue led to a cloister which was larger and more beautiful than the first. All this line, the

forty braccia of the loggia belonging to the first cloister, that is, with the length of the avenue and that of the loggia of the second cloister, formed a very long and most beautiful succession of arcades, the view of which was more delightful than words could easily describe. And the effect was all the finer from the circumstance that, beyond the last cloister, and in the same direction, there extended one of the walks of the convent garden, which was two hundred braccia in length ; all of which, as seen by those who came from the principal door of the convent, formed a view that was admirably beautiful. In the second cloister was a refectory sixty braccia long and eighteen wide ; with all the requisite chambers, or as monks call them, offices, which, in such a convent, are demanded. Over this was a dormitory in the form of the letter T, one part of which, the direct line, or principal part namely, which was sixty braccia long, was double, having cells on each side that is to say, and at the upper end, in a space of fifteen braccia, was an oratory, above the altar of which was a picture by the hand of Pietro Perugino. Over the door of this oratory, also, was another work by this master, the latter being in fresco, as will be related hereafter. On the same floor, but over the chapter-house, was a large room which those fathers used for the purpose of their glass-painting, and where they had their furnaces and other things needful to such an occupation. Pietro was therein very useful to them, for as while he lived he prepared them their cartoons for these works ; so all that they performed in his time were excellent. The garden of this convent, moreover, was so well kept and so beautiful, the vines were so finely trained around the cloister, and all was so well managed, that nothing better could be seen either in Florence or around it. In like manner the place wherein the monks distilled odoriferous waters and prepared medicinal extracts, as was their custom, was supplied with all the conveniences that could possibly be imagined. This convent, in fine, was one of the most beautiful, most commodious, and best managed houses of religion in the

whole state of Florence; wherefore it is that I have resolved to make this mention of the same: and this I have done the rather because the greater part of the paintings therein were by the hand of Pietro Perugino.

But returning, at length, to this Pietro, I proceed to say, that of the works performed by him in the above-described convent, nothing has been preserved but the pictures executed on panel, seeing that all those in fresco were destroyed in the siege of Florence, when the building was wholly demolished. The panel pictures, however, were carried to the gate of San Pier Gattolini, where those monks were provided with a refuge in the church and convent of San Giovannino.[11] Of the two pictures by Pietro which were on the screen, the one represented Christ in the Garden with the Apostles, who are sleeping: in this work Pietro shows how effectual a refuge is sleep from the cares and pains of life, he having depicted the disciples of Christ in attitudes of the most perfect ease and repose.[12] The other painting is a Pietà, the Saviour lying dead that is, in the lap of Our Lady, around whom are four figures not inferior to others executed in the manner of that master.[13] Among the various characteristics of this work, it is to be remarked that the figure of the Dead Christ here described is benumbed and stiffened, as if it had been so long on the cross that the time and cold had brought it to that appearance. St. John and the Magdalen, in heavy affliction, are weeping as they support the body.

In another picture, executed with infinite care, is the Saviour on the Cross, at the foot of which is the Magdalen, with St. Jerome, St. John the Baptist, and the Beato Giovanni Colombini, the founder of that order to which the monks belonged.[14] These three pictures have suffered

[11] This is now the church of La Calza.

[12] In the Florentine Academy; it was painted between 1492 and 1499.

[13] In the Florentine Academy; it was painted in 1493.

[14] This work is now in the church of La Calza. It has been considered a doubtful picture. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say of it: "It is difficult

considerably; in the shadows and on all the dark parts there are numerous cracks, and this has happened from the circumstance, that when the first colour was laid on the ground, it had not perfectly dried before the second (for there are three coats of colour given one over the other) was applied, wherefore, in the gradual drying by time, they have become drawn throughout their thickness, with a force that has sufficed to produce these cracks; a fact that Pietro could not know or anticipate, since it was but in his time that the practice of painting well in oil first commenced. The works of Pietro being much extolled by the Florentines, as we have said, a Prior of the same convent of the Ingesuati,[15] who took great pleasure in the art, commissioned him to paint a Nativity on the walls of the first cloister, with the Adoration of the Magi, the figures extremely small, and this work he conducted to perfection with much grace and elegance. Among the heads, which are infinitely varied, are portraits from the life not a few,[16] one of these is the likeness of Andrea Verrocchio, Pietro's master. In the same court, and over the arches resting on the columns, our artist executed a frieze wherein were heads of the size of life, and among them was that of the Prior himself, so life-like, and painted in so good a manner, that the best judges among artists have declared it to be the most perfect work ever performed by this master. In the second cloister, over the door leading into the refectory, he was likewise commissioned to paint an historical picture, the subject of which was Pope Boniface, confirming to the Beato Giovanni Colombino, the habit of his Order. Here Pietro painted the portraits of eight of the monks, with a most beautiful perspective, receding in a manner which was greatly extolled, and deservedly so, for to

to ascribe this piece either to Perugino or to Signorelli." Again they state that while portions of the work bear the impress of Perugino, other parts would appear to have been executed by Signorelli.

[15] As this Ingesuati convent was destroyed the fresco undoubtedly perished.

[16] For Perugino as a portrait painter, see note 23.

these matters Pietro gave particular attention. Beneath this picture he commenced a second, representing the Birth of Christ, with angels and shepherds, the colouring of which was exceedingly fresh and lively. Over the door of the above described oratory also, he painted three half-length figures of Our Lady, St. Jerome, and the Beato Giovanni, in so fine a manner, that this was esteemed among the best of the mural paintings executed by Pietro.[17]

The Prior of this cloister, as I have been told, was very successful in the preparation of ultra-marine blues, and having them, from this circumstance, in good store, he therefore desired that Pietro should use them frequently in all the above-mentioned works; he was nevertheless so mean and mistrustful that he dared not confide the colour to Pietro, but would always be present when the latter was using the azure blue. The master therefore, who was by nature upright and honest, nor in any way covetous of another man's goods, took the distrust of the Prior very ill, and determined to make him ashamed of it. He accordingly placed a bowl of water beside him whenever he had prepared draperies or other parts of the picture to be painted in blue and white, calling every now and then on the Prior (who turned grudgingly to his little bag of the colour), to put ultra-marine into the vase or bottle wherein it was tempered with water: then setting to work, at every second pencil-full he washed his brush into the bowl beside him, wherein there remained by this means, more colour than the painter had bestowed on his work. The Prior finding his bag becoming empty, while the work made but little show, cried out once and again, time after time,—"Oh, what a quantity of ultra-marine is swallowed up by this plaster." "You see for yourself how it is," replied Pietro, and the Prior went away. When he was gone, the master gathered the ultra-marine from the bottom of the bowl, and when he thought the proper time for doing so was come, he returned it to the Prior,—saying to him, "This belongs to you,

[17] These works were destroyed.

father, learn to trust honest men, for such never deceive those who confide in them, although they well know how to circumvent distrustful persons like yourself, when they desire to do so."

By the works here executed and many others, Pietro acquired so great a reputation, that he was almost compelled to go to Siena, where he painted a very large picture in the church of San Francesco, which was considered to be extremely beautiful,[18] as was another by his hand in that of Sant' Agostino; the latter representing Christ Crucified, with certain Saints.[19] A short time after this, Pietro painted a picture of St. Jerome "in penitence," for the church of San Gallo in Florence, but this work is now in San Jacopo-tra-Fossi, at the corner of the Alberti, where those monks now have their abode.[20] Pietro likewise received a commission to paint a figure representing the Dead Saviour, with the Madonna, and San Giovanni, above the steps leading to the side door of San Pietro Maggiore, and this he executed in such a manner, that, exposed as it is to wind and weather, it has nevertheless maintained such freshness, as to have the appearance of being but just finished by the hand of the master.[21] Pietro Perugino certainly proved himself well acquainted with the management of colours, in fresco as well as in oil, insomuch, that the most able artists are largely indebted to him for the knowledge to be obtained by means of his works, more especially as regards the lights.

In the church of Santa Croce, in the same city, this master painted a Madonna mourning over the body of Christ, which she sustains on her bosom; in this picture there are two figures, the sight of which awakens astonishment, not

[18] This picture, a Nativity, painted 1508–9, perished in a fire in the seventeenth century.

[19] Still in the church.

[20] This work is lost.

[21] It was taken to the chapel of the Albizzi Palace, Florence, after the demolition of the church.

so much indeed for their excellence, as for their freshness; that a painting in fresco should have remained so new-looking and lively for so long a time is surprising.[22] From Bernardino de' Rossi, Pietro received a commission to paint a San Sebastiano to be sent into France, and the price agreed on was to be one hundred gold crowns, but the picture was sold by Bernardino to the King of France for four hundred gold ducats. At Vallombrosa, this artist painted a figure for the High Altar,[23] with another for the Certosa or Carthusian Monastery at Pavia, for the same monks.[24]

[22] This work is lost. Albertini's *Memoriale* speaks of a panel by Perugino in Santa Croce.

[23] In the Florentine Academy. It was executed in 1500 and is a large picture of the Assumption with Saint Michael the Archangel, S. Benedetto, S. Giovanni Gualberto, and S. Bernardo degli Uberti. In the same gallery are two little portrait heads of monks said to have been the donors of the altar-piece. They are Don Biagio Milanesi, general of the order of Vallombrosa, and Don Baldasarre, and in their marvellous delicacy and withal breadth of modelling, these are two of the finest portrait heads in Europe, showing Perugino in quite a new light and proving what he could have done in portraiture had his orders for church pictures not prevented him from the execution of secular works. Passavant and Gruyer both attribute the profile portraits of the two monks to Raphael, Morelli refuses the attribution, and the heads are now accredited to Perugino. The position in profile with upturned faces may perhaps be explained by the fact that these heads formed part of the surrounding to the altar-piece. See MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, p. 212. See also as examples of his portraits Perugino's head of himself in the Sala del Cambio and his Francesco delle Opere in the Uffizi.

[24] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think this picture was painted about 1504 in Florence, and, as it were, under the eye of Leonardo da Vinci. Morelli (Italian Masters in German Galleries, pp. 288–89) cites Perugino's journey to the north *circa* 1494, and shows that the picture was much more probably commissioned at about that time, and was possibly painted in the convent itself, where a portion of it still remains, while the principal panels, the centre, a Virgin with Angels, and the right and left hand panels, Raphael with young Tobias, and Michael, are in the National Gallery. It is Perugino's finest altar-piece, and the master may claim by right of this picture a parity of excellence of panel painting and fresco work rarely found in one and the same artist. Of such pictures as the triptych of Pavia and the Pazzi Crucifixion of Florence, one may quote Symonds (Renaissance in Italy, the Fine Arts): "In his best work the Renaissance set the seal of absolute perfection upon pietistic art."

Morelli's abstract (Italian Masters in German Galleries, pp. 287, 288, 289) upon Pietro's early wanderings in the north of Italy is as follows: Perugino was in Venice in 1494, and finished, probably in Cremona itself, his picture for

For the High Altar of the episcopal church in Naples, Pietro was commissioned by Cardinal Caraffa, to paint an Assumption of Our Lady, with the Apostles in adoration around the tomb,[25] and for the Abbot, Simone de' Graziani of Borgo San Sepolcro, he painted a large picture which was executed in Florence; being afterwards transported to the church of San Gilio at Borgo, on the backs of porters, at very heavy cost.[26] To Bologna Pietro sent a picture for the church of San Giovanni-in-Monte; in this there are two figures standing upright, with the Virgin appearing in the heavens above them.[27]

By all these works the fame of the master became so widely diffused throughout Italy and in foreign lands, that he was invited to Rome, by Pope Sixtus IV., to his great glory; here he was appointed to work in the Sistine chapel, together with the other eminent artists who had also been invited by that Pontiff; and in company with Don Bartolommeo della Gatta, Abbot of San Clemente in Arezzo, he painted the story of Christ delivering the keys to Peter.[28] The Nativity of the Saviour, his Baptism with the Birth of

the church of St. Augustine there; March 6, 1495, he contracted in Perugia to paint for the monks of Cassino the Assumption which is now in Lyons, in the same year and place (Perugia) he painted the Entombment (Pitti), in 1496 the Marriage of Mary (Caen), and in that year was again in Venice. Morelli dates the triptych of Pavia (National Gallery) as between 1494–1498, and refuses to accept the young Raphael as collaborator in it. In 1497 Pietro painted at Fano the large Duranti altar-piece in the church of S. Maria Nuova. In 1498 he executed for S. Domenico of Perugia his Madonna and six kneeling brethren; 1499–1500 he worked at Vallombrosa upon an Assumption (Academy of Florence), and perhaps at the same time painted the two fine profile portraits of monks. Morelli deduces from all these wanderings that the young Raphael cannot have been Pietro's pupil till about 1500.

[25] Still in the cathedral.

[26] Still in the Duomo. A Christ with angels is in the upper part of the picture; the Virgin among the Apostles is in the lower portion.

[27] It is in the Academy at Bologna. It represents a Virgin in the clouds with Saints Michael, Catharine, Apollonia, and John the Evangelist. Some of the figures are representative at once of the master's most mannered style and yet of his greatest charm.

[28] Perugino finished his Sistine frescoes in 1496. Only the Delivery of the Keys still remains. Morelli, basing himself upon a careful stylistic compari-

Moses, and his discovery by the daughter of Pharaoh, who takes him from the little ark of bulrushes, were also painted by this master. On the side whereon is the altar likewise, Pietro executed a mural painting of the Assumption of the Virgin, and in this he placed the portrait of Pope Sixtus, in a kneeling position. But these last mentioned works were destroyed during the pontificate of Pope Paul III., when the divine Michelagnolo painted his picture of the Last Judgment in that chapel.[29] In the palace of the Pope, Pietro painted a ceiling in one of the apartments of the Torre Borgia; here he depicted certain stories from the life of Christ, with ornaments of foliage in chiaro-scuro, a work reputed at the time, to be one of extraordinary excellence.[30] In the church of San Marco, also in Rome, he painted an historical piece beside the chapel of the Sacrament representing two martyrs: this is accounted among the good works executed by Pietro while in Rome.[31] For Sciarra Colonna he painted a Loggia with several chambers, in the Palace of Sant' Apostolo and all these works placed

son, gives the frescoes of the Baptism of Christ and Moses leaving Egypt to Pinturicchio; see the life of that master, note 27. Morelli finds no trace of a strange hand in the fresco of the Delivery of the Keys, and refers the co-operation of Della Gatta, if it occurred at all, to some of the mural paintings which have perished; while certain critics even discredit the existence of Don Bartolommeo as a worker in the Sistina.

[29] The frescoes destroyed were the Assumption, the Nativity, and the finding of the child Moses. It is greatly to be deplored that no *replica* has been preserved, for the Delivery of the Keys, painted at the same time, is, as a composition, unequalled by any fifteenth-century fresco in the Sistine Chapel; its balance and restraint can indeed be paralleled by very few works even of the golden period of the first years of the sixteenth century. The worst that can be said of it is that it is slightly academic, and that the tiny figures of the background make spots which attract the eye away from the main action.

[30] In the *Camera dell' Incendio* Raphael spared Perugino's ceiling, which represents in so many *tondi* what Milanesi, III. 579, note 3, calls four poetical and symbolical scenes in which figure the Eternal Father, angels, and allegorical figures. By the side of the great works of the Urbinate they seem insignificant, but nevertheless they are not lacking in decorative charm.

[31] This work has perished. There is, however, a figure of St. Mark in the church which is still assigned to Perugino, but Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in Italy, III. 191, note 1, say that it is a work of the Venetian School of the Vivarini.

him in possession of a very large sum of money ;[32] Pietro, therefore, determined to remain no longer in Rome, and departed thence with the good favour of all the court. He then returned to his native city of Perugia, and there executed various frescoes and pictures in different parts of the city, more particularly in the palace of the Signori, where he painted a picture in oil, for the chapel of that building, representing the Virgin with other saints.[33]

In the church of San Francesco-del-Monte, Pietro painted two chapels in fresco, the Adoration of the Magi in one, and in the other the Martyrdom of certain Monks of the Franciscan order, who, having proceeded to the Sultan of Babylon, were there put to death.[34] In San Francesco del Convento, this master painted two pictures in oil, in one of which he depicted the resurrection of Jesus Christ,[35] and in the other San Giovanni Batista, with other saints.[36] For the church of the Servites also,[37] Pietro likewise painted two pictures, one representing the Transfiguration of Our Lord, and the other, which is beside the sacristy, the Adoration of the Magi.[38] But as these works are not of equal excellence with some others by this master, it is considered certain that they are among the first which he executed. In San Lorenzo, which is the cathedral of that city (Perugia), there is a Madonna by the hand of Pietro, in the chapel of

[32] These works are lost. There is, however, a painting of a S. Sebastiano left in the Sciarra palace.

[33] It is now in the Vatican, it was executed in 1496.

[34] These frescoes have been removed to the Pinacoteca of Perugia.

[35] The Resurrection is in the Vatican. Raphael is said to have worked on this picture, but the story that the portraits of Raphael and Perugino may be seen in the sleeping figure at the left and in the fleeing soldier is doubtful. Morelli, Italian Masters in German Galleries, p. 314, refuses to believe that Raphael ever had anything to do with the picture, and is inclined to believe that it was painted by Giovanni Spagna from a cartoon by Perugino.

[36] In the Pinacoteca of Perugia.

[37] The church of the Servites is now S. Maria Nuova. Perugian writers claim that there are still other works of Perugino in the church.—Milanesi, III., 581, note 2.

[38] The Transfiguration and the Adoration are in the Museum of Perugia.

the *Crocifisso,* with the Maries, San Giovanni, San Lorenzo, San Jacopo, and other saints.[39]

For the altar of the sacrament, where the ring with which the Virgin Mary was espoused is preserved, this master painted an altar-piece representing the Marriage of Our Lady.[40]

At a later period, Pietro painted the Hall of Audience in the Exchange of Perugia entirely in fresco.[41] The compart-

[39] No longer in the cathedral.

[40] This Sposalizio, now in the Museum of Caen, has always been considered an original Perugino,and the prototype of Raphael's Sposalizio (Brera). Mr. Bernhard Berenson (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, April, 1896) believes that the Sposalizio of Caen was painted by Lo Spagna, and is a souvenir, not a prototype, of Raphael's Marriage of the Virgin.

[41] Perugino began this cycle in 1499, and seems to have finished it in 1500, though he was not entirely paid till 1507. The Sala del Cambio shows us exactly what the men of the fifteenth century asked and obtained as a complete system of decoration, carried out at one time and under the direction of one mind. As such alone it would be a priceless lesson, but the coincidence of the decoration with one of the best periods of the Renaissance and of the direction with one of its best masters adds such intrinsic value that the little Perugian Exchange deserves to rank among the treasuries of European art. Upon entering it the first impression is one of completeness. Nothing has been taken away and little added since the first years of the sixteenth century, a time at once of culmination and of transition. In the Sala del Cambio the frame equals the picture, or rather there is no distinction between the two; the whole hall is a setting; the golden brown of the inlaid benches, the cool gray lights and strong shadows of the carved wood, continue and relieve the warm grays, the amber, and the tawny reds and yellows of the frescoes; the pavement is in harmony below, and the vaulting above is covered with that combination of flat-painted figures and scroll-work which is so distinctive of a good art epoch, and is much more truly decorative than are the heavily carved ceilings that prevailed a half century later. Not one of the frescoes of the Cambio equals the Crucifixion of S. Maddalena de' Pazzi, or the Delivery of the Keys in the Sistine, but each is richer in color than are the latter and more famous works, while taken together the series shows us Perugino in nearly all his phases. A second impression is one of amused surprise at the frankly hybrid character of the frescoes, the result of a mediæval hospitality afforded to a classical new-comer, who could only be an interloper in Umbria. Even here, in the stronghold of pietism, the humanist had come, and had prescribed to Perugino his list of antique virtues and antique prototypes. We may still read the Latin legends of the walls repeated in the manuscript of Francesco Maturanzio. Perugino has accepted the prescription and has treated the sages and heroes of antiquity like so many Renaissance playing-cards, at least as far as their decorative side is concerned, not attempting any composition, but set-

ments of the ceiling, that is to say, which he decorated with the seven planets, each drawn in a kind of chariot by different animals, according to the old manner; on the wall opposite to the door of entrance he depicted the Birth and Resurrection of Christ;[42] and on panel he represented San Giovanni, in the midst of other saints.[43] On the side wall of the building Pietro then painted figures in his own manner, those on one side represent Fabius Maximus, Socrates, Numa Pompilius, Fulvius Camillus, Pythagoras,[44] Trajan, L. Licinius, the Spartan Leonidas, Horatius Cocles, Fabius Sempronius,[45] the Athenian Pericles, and Cincinnatus: on the opposite wall are figures of the prophets; Isaiah, Moses, and Daniel namely; with David, Jeremiah, and Solomon; the master likewise added those of the Sybils; the Erythræan, the Lybian, the Tiburtine, the Delphic, and the others.

ting his characters formally side by side, each with his label at his elbow. The heroes have vigorous torsos and spindling legs, close-fitting armors, and helmets with extraordinary branching scroll-work plumes; the sages wear long gowns and fantastical head-dresses, and the faces of sages and heroes alike, when not bearded, look as though they might have come out of the many nunneries of Perugia—sweet, gentle, girlish faces. The Nativity and Transfiguration show us the Perugino whom we know in altar-pieces, but the prophets and sibyls have as figures a vigor and a breadth which differentiate them from most of the painter's personages. Passavant (see also Perkins' Raphael and Michael Angelo) has suggested that the vaulting is earlier than the rest of the decoration, and is not by Perugino at all; its little people are thoroughly *quattrocento*, almost mediæval; indeed the Sala del Cambio of Perugia, the Library of Siena, and the Borgia Apartments of the Vatican are so many different passages of the swan song of that frankly decorative painting which revelled in scroll-work and flying ribands and gilded patterns, and which ten years later gave way once and forever to the new order of things that came in with the *Stanze* of the Vatican. Symonds (Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe: Perugia) says of these frescoes and of Perugino that the "charm of his style is that everything is thought out and rendered visible in one decorous key. The worst that can be said of it is that its suavity inclines to mawkishness and its quietism borders on sleepiness. We find it difficult not to accuse him of affectation. At the same time we are forced to allow that what he did and what he refrained from doing was determined by a purpose."

[42] The Transfiguration, rather.

[43] This is in the room next the Sala del Cambio, and has a Christ with angels (not saints), and with people who await baptism.

[44] Pittacus, rather.

[45] Publius Scipio, rather.

Beneath each of these figures is a sentence in the manner of a motto, taken from the writings or sayings of the personage represented above, and appropriate in some sort to the place wherein the artist has painted it. In one of the ornaments of this work Pietro placed his own portrait, which has a very animated appearance, and beneath it he wrote his name in the following manner :[46]

Petrus Perusinus egregius pictor,
Perdita si fuerat pingendo hic retulit artem ;
Si nunquam inventa esset hactenus, ipse dedit.
Anno D. MD.*

This work, an exceedingly fine one, and which has been more highly extolled than any other executed by Pietro in Perugia,[47] is still held in great estimation by the people of that city, as the memorial of so renowned an artist of their native place. In the church of Sant' Agostino, also in Perugia, he painted the Baptism of the Saviour by St. John, in the principal chapel ; this is a very large picture, entirely isolated, and surrounded by a very rich "ornament" or

* The inscription should read :

Petrus Perusinus Egregius Pictor.
Perdita si fuerat pingendi.
Hic retulit artem.
Si nusquam inventa est,
Hactenus ipse dedit,
Anno Salut. M.D.

See Milanesi, III., 582, note 3.

[46] Perugino was invited to place his portrait here, a rare honor even in an epoch and with a people which honored its painters.

[47] The fresco of the Triumph of Religion, with Prophets and Sibyls, is remarkable for a breadth in the design which is unlike Perugino, and could only belong to his most fortunate period. There is something in the character of this work which shows more of the influence of his great contemporaries than do even his finer compositions of the Sistine and of the Maddalena de' Pazzi. Some of the figures are really puzzling in a certain freedom which does not seem Perugino's own, yet which could hardly be found in the work of any youthful pupil or assistant. Next the Sala is the chapel, also very pleasing in its decorative scheme. It was painted by Gianniccola Manni, while the altar-piece is by Perugino.

frame work, and on the back, or that side opposite to the choir, the master further depicted the Birth of Christ, with heads of saints in the upper part of the painting; in the predella are several historical scenes, represented by small figures very carefully executed.[48] In the chapel of San Niccolò, in the same church, he painted a picture for Messer Benedetto Calera.[49]

Having afterwards returned to Florence, Pietro painted a picture for the monks of the Cestello, representing San Bernardo;[50] as he also did another with our Saviour on the Cross, the Virgin, San Benedetto, San Bernardo, and San Giovanni, for the Chapter House.[51] At Fiesole, in the

[48] The Baptism is in the Museum of Perugia, other portions are in French provincial museums. It was commenced in 1502, but not finished till many years after. A famous picture by Perugino which has also found its way to France, and is in the Louvre, is the Combat between Love and Chastity, painted in 1505 for Isabella d'Este. For an example of her manner of ordering a painting, see in the Life of Mantegna a reference to his picture painted also for her *studiolo* of Mantua, where it became the companion of the Perugino and Lorenzo Costa's "Love Crowning Isabella d'Este." All three of the works are in the Louvre. The Duchess is said to have been dissatisfied with Perugino's picture.

[49] Filippo di Benedetto Capra, rather. The picture is still in the church. The *predella*, which has disappeared, was once dated 1500.—Milanesi, III., 584, note 1.

[50] The San Bernardo painted in 1488 has been lost.

[51] The Crucifixion in the secularized Chapter House of S. M. Maddalena dei Pazzi, once the Cestello, was ordered in 1493 by Puccio da Dionisio Pucci and his wife Giovanna, and was finished April 20, 1496. In the centre is the crucified Christ and below is the Magdalen; at the left are the Virgin and St. Bernard, at the right are St. John and St. Benedict. By its solemn breadth of treatment, its largeness, its wide air-filled spaces, this fresco is Perugino's masterpiece, and one of the greatest works of the Renaissance, while in producing the maximum of effect with the minimum of means, it does not yield to any one among them. There are only six figures, but their effect can scarcely be realized unless seen; they are standing quietly under the three painted arches which seem to open the Chapter House upon a wide horizon of mountains not peaked like the Apennines of Carrara, but sweeping in the long undulating lines of the Umbrian Mountains that line the valleys where Tiber and Arno rise almost side by side. All this is so truly the Perugian country that at first one believes that Perugia itself compelled Perugino to see and feel landscape in just this way; but Perugia held Fiorenzo di Lorenzo too, and Luca Signorelli looked upon nearly the same mountain lines from Cortona, yet in his art saw only and always the human body. Half the painters in Umbria

church of San Domenico, he painted a picture of the Madonna, in the second chapel on the right hand;[52] there are besides three figures in this work, one of which, a San Sebastiano namely is worthy of the highest praise.

Pietro had worked so much, and received such perpetual demands for his works, that he frequently used one and the same object or figure several times in different pictures, his theory and mode of treatment in art had, indeed, become so mannered, that he gave all his figures the same expression. Now Michelagnolo was, by this time, coming forward to his place, and Pietro earnestly desired to see his works, because of the great praise bestowed on them by the artists, but as he perceived that the greatness of the name which he had himself acquired in all places began to be obscured by others, he sought much to lower and mortify all who were then labouring to distinguish themselves, by the caustic severity of his remarks. This caused him to receive various offences from different artists, and Michelagnolo told him publicly, that he was but a dolt and blockhead in art. But Pietro could not endure so grievous an affront,

and Tuscany were dwellers upon a Mount of Vision, but each could be a seer only in his own way. Perugino was not alone an Umbrian, but was the first man who was fitted to see and feel and register the solemn impression of the vast sky, the wide valleys that canopy and set the town which even in Italy is unequalled in its marvellous site. In remembering Verona and Siena, Spoleto, and many other places, it seems hard to say that any city of the peninsula is picturesque beyond its fellows, and yet that little quarter of Perugia which surrounds San Severo, where Raphael, still almost a boy, painted his fresco of the Christ in Glory, is perhaps unequalled. The streets fairly climb over each other's backs, some are tunnelled under palaces, some are steep staircases, not one is level. Before you as you go people seem to rise up out of the earth, and they disappear into it again down some narrow alley which leads to their homes, or to other and deeper alleys. You pass along a little street, and at its end a terrace drops away. You have the top of a tall church-tower below your feet, and before you the city slopes down in amphitheatre to where miles of rolling country dotted with towns are bounded by snow-covered mountains. This uplifted hill city, with its low horizon and its ever present background of light-filled sky, was Perugino's best master, and he, in turn, of all her artists, was the first one to see the nobility of Umbria and the glory of her landscape.

[52] It was painted in 1493. and is now in the Uffizi.

and the two artists presented themselves before the Council of Eight, whence Pietro withdrew, however, with very little honour. Meanwhile the Servite Monks of Florence desired to have the picture for their high altar painted by some master of great renown, and had given the commission for it to Filippo Lippi on account of the departure of Leonardo da Vinci to France, but the former, when he had completed the half of one, out of the two pictures, of which the Altar-piece was to be composed, departed to another life; whereupon the monks, moved by the faith they had placed in Pietro, confided the whole work to his care. In this painting, wherein Filippino had begun to represent the Deposition of Christ from the Cross, that master had finished the upper part, where Nicodemus is lowering the body; Pietro therefore continued the work by painting the lower part, the swooning of Our Lady namely, with certain other figures. And as this work was to consist of two pictures, the one to be turned towards the choir of the monks, and the other towards the body of the church, the monks proposed to have the Deposition towards the choir with an Assumption of the Virgin towards the church, but Pietro executed the latter in so ordinary a manner, that they determined to have the Deposition in front, and the Assumption towards the choir; both have now been removed to other altars in the same church, and the Tabernacle of the Sacrament has been erected in their place.[53] Of this work, therefore, six small pictures[54] only have remained at the high altar, certain saints namely, which were painted in niches by Pietro. I find it related, that when the painting was first uncovered, all the new artists censured it greatly, principally because Pietro had again adopted the same figures that had been previously painted in other of his

[53] The picture, painted in part by Filippino, is in the Academy. The Assumption is still in the church in the Rabatta chapel.—Milanesi, III. 586, note 1.

[54] The six saints have been sold. Milanesi, III., p. 586, note 2, says two of them remained in a private collection of Florence.

works, for which his friends reproached him not a little, declaring that he had taken no pains, but whether induced by avarice, or by the desire to spare his time, had departed from his usual good manner; to all which Pietro replied, "I have painted in this work the figures that you formerly commended, and which then pleased you greatly; if they now displease you, and you no longer extol them, what can I do?"[55] This did not prevent many from assailing him sharply with satirical verses, and offending him publicly in various ways; wherefore, having now become old, he left Florence altogether, and returned to Perugia.[56]

In the church of San Severo, in that city, he then executed various works in fresco, for the Carthusian monks, to whom it belongs: there Raffaello da Urbino, while still young, and when he was the disciple of Pietro, had painted certain figures,[57] as will be related in the proper place. Pietro likewise worked at Montone,[58] at the Fratta,[59] and at many other places in the neighbourhood of Perugia, but more particularly in Assisi, in the church of Santa Maria

[55] Milanesi cites the three pictures of the Servi of Borgo San Sepolcro, and of Vallombrosa as proving Pietro's readiness to use the same figures over again, both angels and apostles doing double service in them.

[56] But for the offences thus received Pietro would seem to have disposed his affairs for passing the remainder of his days in Florence, where he had also purchased a burial-place for himself and his descendants, in the church of the Annunziata.—*Masselli*, quoted in Mrs. Foster's notes.

[57] Raphael began this fresco of San Severo, a Christ in Glory, and left it unfinished. Perugino painted (1521) the saints in the lower part of the picture. They have been the subject of some sharp criticism, perhaps unduly sharp, for if somewhat feeble they are not vulgar, and they do not jar with the rest of the composition.

[58] A Virgin and Child, with Saints John the Baptist, Gregory, John the Evangelist, and Francis, with a *predella* representing the Birth of the Virgin, her Marriage and her Assumption, a picture formerly at Montone and painted in 1507, is lost. See Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in Italy, III. p. 232, note 2. Orsini, *Vita di Pietro Perugino*, p. 208, says this picture was taken to the palace of the Odardi family, at Ascoli. See Milanesi, p. 587, note 3.

[59] The picture from the church of the Fratta (now Umbertide) of Perugia, was a Coronation of the Virgin, painted toward 1500, by Pinturicchio, not Perugino; it is now in the Vatican. See A. Venturi, *La Galleria Vaticana*, p. 44.

degli Angeli namely, where he painted in fresco the wall behind the chapel of the Madonna, which stands opposite to the choir of the monks, depicting the Saviour on the Cross, with several figures.[60] In the church of San Pietro, an Abbey in Perugia, which belongs to the Black Friars, he painted a very large picture for the high altar; the subject of this work is the Ascension of Jesus, with the Apostles beneath, looking up to heaven.[61] On the predella of the picture are three stories, executed with much care, the Adoration of the Magi that is to say, the Baptism of the Saviour and his Resurrection; the whole of this work is replete with evidences of thought and care, insomuch that it is one of the best paintings in oil executed by Pietro in Perugia; he also commenced a work in fresco, of no small importance, at Castello della Pieve, but did not finish it.[62]

[60] The upper part of this painting was destroyed in 1700, the lower portion was restored by Castellani in 1830. See Père Barnabé, *La Porzioncule*, *Histoire de Sainte Marie des Anges*, and *Glorie della Sacra Porziuncola*, *compendio Storico di S. M. degli Angeli*, Perugia, 1858.

[61] The centre-piece, painted 1495 or 1496, was presented by Pope Pius VII. to the Museum of Lyons; the *predella* pictures are in the Museum at Rouen. Five little panels from this work, with figures of saints, remain in the church of San Pietro, while the Vatican has three half-length figures, which possibly also belonged to the same altar-piece. The general composition represented an Ascension of Christ. Morelli, in his Italian Masters, admits among the pictures which he catalogues as by Perugino, a Madonna (Munich, 1036), "a feeble picture;" Vision of St. Bernard (Munich, No. 1034), called by Morelli a "beautiful picture," and attributed by Vasari to Raffaellino del Garbo; No. 1035, Munich, "feeble" and "superficial;" two *predellas* (Munich, Nos. 1037, 1038); a head called the Nun of Leonardo da Vinci (Pitti, No. 140), ascribed by Dr. Bode to Franciabigio; the so-called Alessandro Braccesi (portrait of a youth, No. 1217, in the Uffizi, and there attributed to Lorenzo di Credi); Morelli unreservedly pronounces the Apollo and Marsyas bought of Mr. Morris Moore by the Louvre (see life of Raphael), to be not by Raphael, but by some master whose style has close affinity with that of Perugino (Italian Masters in German Galleries, p. 306). Morelli mentions as characteristic drawings by Perugino and worth studying as such, a Monk Reading (Uffizi), pen-drawing; full-length study for the Socrates of the Cambio (Uffizi); two male figures, one shooting, one bending a bow, pen-drawing, in Duc d'Aumale's collection; study of Putti (Uffizi), pen drawing.

[62] Fragments of a Descent from the Cross, dated 1517, still exist in S. Maria de' Servi. See Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in Italy, III. 237. There is an Adoration of the Magi at Città della Pieve,

It was the custom of Pietro, who was a man that did not confide in any one, when going or returning from the above named Castello to Perugia, to carry all the money which he possessed at the time about his person; this being known, certain men waylaid him at a place on the road, and robbed him of all that he had, but, at his earnest entreaty, they spared his life for the love of God. By means of the measures adopted, and the assistance of his friends, of whom he had a good number, notwithstanding what has been said, he recovered a great part of the money that had been taken from him; he was nevertheless very near dying of grief for this misfortune. Pietro possessed but very little religion,[63] and could never be made to believe in the immortality of the soul, nay, most obstinately did he reject all good counsel, with words suited to the stubbornness of his marble-hard brain. He placed all his hopes in the goods of fortune, and would have undertaken any thing for money;[64] he gained great riches indeed, and bought, as

where there is also a St. Anthony in S. Agostino (*Ibid.* III. 226, 236), and a work in S. Gervasio (*Ibid.* III. 236). The fresco formerly in the church of Fontignano, near Città della Pieve, by Perugino, has been sawn from the walls, and is now in the South Kensington Museum, London.

[63] Whatever the general critic may imply by "irreligious," Perugino must have been as a painter at once reverent and sincere during a long period of his life, for his work proves this unmistakably. He was certainly an interesting psychological problem, a protagonist of pietistic art, and yet taxed as an infidel; a man capable of the most dignified and monumental compositions, yet willing to repeat himself and to coin money by the use of worn-out material. His surroundings were as incongruous as the qualities found in his work and attributed to his character, since Perugia was at once the home of religious painting and the closed lists of the most ruffianly nobles in Italy, the Baglioni. Taine is inclined to place Perugino among those who were changed and made sceptical by the apparent failure of Savonarola's prophecies. On his portrait of Francesco delle Opere is inscribed *Timete Deum*, and after all is said neither avarice nor repetition of motives in his pictures proves irreligion in Perugino; as to his infidelity we have only Vasari's assertion, based doubtless on some such local tradition as Pietro's burial under the oak of Fontignano. Other stories, and even documents, tend to absolve him, and the causes of Perugino's artistic decline may probably be found in the conditions which governed the evolution of Italian painting. See note 68.

[64] Among the instances which go far toward disproving the stories of Perugino's avarice and irreligion, is that of his ceding to S. Maria de' Bianchi, at Cas-

well as built, several large houses in Florence ; at Perugia also, and at Castello della Pieve, he bought a considerable amount of property. Pietro took a very beautiful girl to wife, and she bore him children ;[65] [66] [67] [68] he is said to have

tello della Pieve, a picture at one-third the original price. Again, he painted a S. Sebastian for the church of Panicale; he asked but a very small sum for the picture, and two years later, having lent fourteen painted banners to the same village, he added to the loan the condition that in case the villagers did not care to return him the banners they were to pay the remainder of the sum due on the S. Sebastian. In a word, it was a way of presenting the banners to Panicale. See Passavant, *Raphael d' Urbin*, I., Appendix, pp., 458, 459. On the other hand, Pietro sometimes undertook to drive a hard bargain even with the wardens of a cathedral, as at Orvieto, and in Venice demanded for frescoes to be done in the Ducal Palace more than double what afterward satisfied Titian, who eventually did the work.

[65] In 1493 he married Chiara Fancelli, daughter of an architect and sculptor in the service of the Marquis of Mantua. She is said to have been the model for the Angel with Tobias in the National Gallery.

[66] It is a matter of local tradition that Perugino was interred beneath an oak in the neighborhood of Fontignano, on account of his refusal to receive the last sacraments of the church, but this story has been refuted by Mariotti (*Lettere Perugine*), who cites a contract between the sons of Perugino and the Augustinians of Perugia for the transferring of the body of Perugino to their church. At the time that Perugino died all funerals were forbidden for sanitary reasons, on account of an epidemic, so that the body was taken to the church at a later time. It is indeed questionable whether this transference took place, but there is no doubt of the contract. Perugino died in 1523, at Fontignano, half-way between Perugia and Castello della Pieve.

[67] The portrait of Perugino is found in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia. For a long time the figure which stands by the side of that of Raphael in a fresco of the Vatican stanze was called Perugino. Morelli thinks that it is rather the portrait of Sodoma ; Herr Mündler believed that a picture, numbered 397, in the Borghese gallery, was a portrait of Perugino by himself ; Morelli, on the contrary, thought it to be by Raphael, and not to represent Perugino but some other person, perhaps Pinturicchio. See Italian Painters, Vol. I., pp. 138, 139.

[68] Until within the last twenty-five years the histories of Italian art have, as it were, wreaked themselves upon easel pictures, and yet the true glory of the Italians has been in nearly every case their mural paintings. No artist has suffered more misapprehension by this separation of easel painting from monumental work than has Perugino. He was one of the first to successfully handle the new medium of oil. The depth and transparency, as well as the novelty of the latter, combined with the painter's own personal and temperamental contribution to make his work popular, and the facility attainable in oil, resulted in an enormous multiplication of his pictures. This reduplication has

had so much pleasure in seeing her wear becoming head-dresses, both abroad and at home, that he was occasionally

hurt our estimate of Perugino in two ways; first, because among so many works relatively few are of the first order; secondly, because their great number has caused their author to be regarded almost wholly as a painter of small panels or canvases, whereas only a few of his easel pictures deserve comparison with his works in fresco, and even when we examine the most beautiful of his panels, such as those of the triptych of Pavia, we must admit that their qualities are repeated upon a grander scale on the walls of the Sistine Chapel and of the Maddalena de' Pazzi chapter-house. Nevertheless, both as painter of frescoes and of panels his technical capacity was of a high order. As a colorist Perugino was a typical Umbrian; his color was warm, transparent, golden; Leonardo's was more delicate, and of the latter's magical chiaroscuro Perugino had no knowledge; he never even gave a thought to it; but Leonardo's very seeking after that same light and shadow turned his color to blackness, while Perugino's remained transparent and admirably fitted to his purpose of expression. In this last quality of expression he was past-master, but although it made him for a while the most popular painter in Italy, and reached great heights of fervor and pathos, it descended also to affectation and even to mawkishness. As a draughtsman he was elegant but rarely forceful, and sometimes feeble; his compositions when at their best were full of dignity, but more often they were conventional and thin, being lacking in a feeling for the disposition of mass, while, on the other hand, they were always restrained and never overcrowded. Perugino, like Filippino Lippi, did his finest work in the earlier part of his career; but he did not, like Filippino, gradually exchange the sympathetic quality in his painting for the research and striving of a pioneer. On the contrary, he sank to an uniformity of execution which, if often sweet, was often spiritless, and does not always merit our respect. Outraged critics, and among them Vasari, have sought for a direct reason for this, and have cried avarice and irreligion. This accusation does not seem wholly reasonable. In a man with the fear of hell before his eyes, avarice might be compatible with the painting of pictures for religious confraternities for little or no pay, but it could not be so with an irreligious man. Either Perugino may have been avaricious and fearful of the future, or he may have been irreligious and recklessly generous with monks and churches. The former condition of things would clear his reputation for orthodoxy, the latter condition does not seem likely, and Perugino's artistic decline in middle life is much more probably the result of external than of internal causes. In his earlier years the mastery of the oil medium, which he achieved sooner than other men, and the intrinsic charm of his work, made him one of the most popular masters not merely in Italy but in Europe. Later, after he had formed his style, there came upon all the schools of Italy a complete change of manner; the gentle and amiable spirit of Raphael still found something to admire in the work of such painters as Perugino and Francia, but Michelangelo and the men of the new school fiercely contemned it. Signorelli retired to the provincial patronage of his native Umbria. Vasari

known to arrange this part of her toilet with his own hands. Finally, having attained to the age of seventy-eight, Pietro finished the course of his life in the Castello della Pieve, where he was honourably buried in the year 1524.

tells us that Botticelli was poor and needy, and therein probably exaggerates his neglect at the hands of new-comers and workers in new ways. It is quite possible that Perugino, finding his pictures despised by the famous artists and eagerly sought for by laymen, gave up striving and became the commercial painter which we know him to have been in later years, and that, without more of avarice or of irreligion than were to be found in his fellows. The fact remains that the earlier works of Perugino are his best, and that multiplication of his pictures has hurt his reputation because the tendency is to judge him by his average, that is to say, when the art lover thinks of Perugino a number of inferior works crowd into his mind; but if he will go through a mental process of elimination and recall the Delivery of the Keys in the Sistine, the Crucifixion in S. Maddalena de' Pazzi, the cycle of the Cambio at Perugia, as the representation of the painter as *frescante*, then will remember the two wonderful profile heads of monks in the Florentine Academy, and consider what Pietro could do as portraitist when he chose to take the time for such work; lastly, if he will review the best panel pictures, the triptych of Pavia, the Vision of St. Bernard, an Enthroned Madonna at Bologna, and not a few others, the student will assuredly give to this master one of the highest places in the secondary group, and will admit that the man who in *quattrocento* composition could in his Delivery of the Keys say the last word before the new order of things came in with the *stanze* of the Vatican, and who could in his Pazzi Crucifixion exhibit a new feeling for landscape, was worthy to become the master of Raphael.

VITTORE SCARPACCIA[1]

[Born 1450 (?) died 1522 (?)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—P. Molmenti, *Carpaccio son Temps et son Œuvre*, Venice, 1893. A careful and elaborate monograph. See also the same author in *L'Art*, 1880, Vol. XXIII., pp. 1–9, and again in his work, *La Patria di Carpaccio*, Venice, 1893. Bernard Berenson, Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1895. André Pératé, *Carpaccio*, article in the *Grande Encyclopédie*, Vol. IX. M. F. Mabel Robinson, Carpaccio, article in the Magazine of Art, August, 1884. Mr. John Ruskin's St. Mark's Rest (the Shrine of the Slaves) contains a charming and poetical description of the series of pictures from the lives of Saints George and Jerome, and recently (1896) the entire series has been published in Rome in photogravure to accompany an edition of Mr. Ruskin's text. For works attributed to Carpaccio in the cities of the eastern littoral of the Adriatic, see Madonizza, *Guida del Viaggiatore in Istria*, in the *Almanacco Istr.*, Capo d'Istria, 1864, and Gustavo Frizzoni, *Una Escursione Artistica a Capodistria*, in *Arte e Storia*, Florence, July 29, 1883.

THE earliest pictures of this master[2] were painted in the *Scuola* di Sant' Ursula, where the principal part of the stories on canvas, representing the life and death of

[1] Vittore Carpaccio is called by Vasari Scarpaccia; in the Venetian dialect Scarpazo. This life of Carpaccio is a mere paragraph from a confused chapter in which Vasari gives an exceedingly brief and frequently incorrect mention of many Venetian painters of more or less importance. No other chapter in Vasari is so meagre and so wholly unsatisfactory. Evidently at the time that the author visited Venice the traditions of the early sixteenth century were fast passing away, and he was able to obtain little information.

[2] For the discussion of the much-vexed question of the birthplace of Carpaccio see Molmenti, cited above, and P. Stancovich, *Biog. degli uomini distinti dell' Istria*, Trieste, 1829. The exact place of his birth and the dates of his birth and death have not been determined with certainty; it is probable, however, that he was born at Capo d'Istria about 1450 (see the catalogue of the Brera). Carpaccio is placed with the Venetian painters, and he signs his works "*Victor*, *Charpatius* (or *Carpatius*), *Venetus*," also *Carpathius*, *Carpacius*, and *Carpaza* (see Nagler, *Der Monogrammisten*, cited by Molmenti, *op. cit.*, p. 82). His earliest work is dated 1490; his latest 1522, or, according

that saint, are by his hand.[3] The labours of this undertaking he conducted with so much skill and assiduity, that he

to Molmenti, 1521. He was a pupil of Gentile Bellini, and probably also of Vivarini. Like the Bellini he abandoned *tempera*, and all his later works are executed in the oil medium. As he had so marked a preference for Oriental costumes it has been thought that Carpaccio may have accompanied Gentile Bellini, when that artist was sent to Constantinople to paint the Sultan's portrait. This is, however, unlikely; no proofs exist, Turkish costumes were not hard to find and study in the streets of either Venice or the Istrian cities, and Sig. Molmenti is not disposed to give the story credence.

[3] Carpaccio painted these pictures for the Scuola (see Molmenti, *Carpaccio*, p. 98) founded "in honor and to the glory of the All-Powerful and of the Virgin, of Saint Dominick, Confessor, and of St. Peter, Martyr, but especially of Madame St. Ursula, Virgin, with all her company of blessed virgins and glorious martyrs," and in his choice of subject and the treatment of some of the scenes he has shown how straight was the road that led in the fifteenth century from the canal cities of the north to the city of the lagunes by the Adriatic. The *Châsse*, which is the jewel of the Hospital of St. John in Bruges, testifies to a deeper and more reverent feeling in Hans Memling, but Carpaccio's work is ampler, and if gayer it is earnest, too, and earnest with a Flemish quaintness that sharpens the profiles of his councillors as they sit a-row, and almost makes us believe for a moment that we are in the galleries of Brussels or of Antwerp. Except in two or three of the more serious passages the gayety is gentle and sustained; the painter loves the parti-colored costumes and slashes of his fifteenth century; his pages hurry upon their scarlet and white legs across green stretches of turf; strange, tall-hulled ships anchor in his backgrounds against rich and fanciful architecture till the picture has almost the air of being a charming toy. It is the very stuff of which painted stories should be made, and the visitor who has seen the Legend of St. Ursula in the Academy of Venice carries away an ineffaceable impression of it. The St. Ursula series, which was ordered of Carpaccio in 1490, consists of nine pictures. They are as follows: 1. The Ambassadors of the English King visit King Maurus of Brittany, and ask the hand of his Daughter for the Son of their Monarch. At the right is seen a separate picture of Maurus conferring with his Daughter (and which is inferior to the other paintings of the series). 2. King Maurus bids farewell to the Ambassadors. 3. The Ambassadors bring back the answer to the English King. 4. The English Prince leaves his Father; in a second scene the Prince meets Ursula; in a third the Royal Couple bid farewell to the English King before embarking. The picture is signed and dated MCCCCLXXXXV. 5. Pope Cyriacus meets Ursula and her Virgins outside the gates of Rome. 6. The Dream of St. Ursula. This work is dated 1495, and by the side of the name of Carpaccio are seen the words *Cortinus R.* (*restauravit*) 1752. 7. St. Ursula arrives with her Virgins at Cologne, which is besieged by the Huns. The work is signed *Op. Victoris Carpatio MCCCCLXXXX.*, *M Septembris*. 8. The Martyrdom of St. Ursula. At the right-hand end of the picture is seen the funeral of the saint. 9. St. Ursula in glory receives the crown of Martyrdom. The picture is dated

acquired from them the reputation of being an able and experienced master; and this, as it is said, induced the Milanese people to give him the commission for a picture in *tempera,* containing numerous figures, to be placed in the chapel of Sant' Ambrogio, which belonged to the Friars-Minors.[4] For the Altar of the Resurrection of Christ in the church of Sant' Antonio, this master depicted the appearance of the Saviour to Mary Magdalen, and the other Maries, with the perspective view of a distant landscape, which diminishes very finely.[5] In another chapel Vittore painted the History of the Martyrs, their crucifixion that is to say, and in this work there are more than three hundred figures large and small, with many horses and numerous trees; the opening heavens, the various attitudes of the figures, clothed and nude, the many foreshortenings, and the multitude of other objects represented in this painting, prove that the master could not have executed his work but with extraordinary labour and care.[6]

MCCCCLXXXXI. Of these various pictures the dream of Ursula is the most naïvely charming, the scene of the Ambassadors the most sober and closely studied, that of the meeting of the Prince and Ursula is the most pictorial and entertaining. The latter picture has been the subject of a good deal of undiscriminating admiration as to the great beauty of the faces of the saint and of her suitor; they are, in reality, the profiles of charming paper dolls. If we compare them with the homely features of the ambassadors to King Maurus, or of the councillors who sit in a row, we shall see that the heads of prince and saint alike, graceful as they are, lack any construction, and are abnormal, or very nearly so, as to cranial development. A special illustrated edition of Molmenti, *op. cit.*, contains a dozen photo-reproductions of these scenes, as well as of three other works by Carpaccio. See, also, a long description of the St. Ursula pictures in Charles L. Eastlake's Notes to the Venetian Academy, London, 1888.

[4] This picture is in the church of the Frari, at Venice. Ridolfi and Zanotti state that the picture was finished only by Carpaccio. Moschini cites an inscription on the picture itself which declares it to have been commenced by one of the Vivarini, and completed by Marco Basaiti. Milanesi believes this inscription genuine. In the upper part of the picture is the Coronation of the Virgin, in the lower are San Girolamo and other saints with two *angioletti.*

[5] This work is lost. The painting of Alexander III. celebrating mass in San Marco, executed *circa* 1501, perished in the great fire.

[6] Now in the Venetian Academy. It is the Crucifixion of the Ten Thousand Martyrs on Mount Ararat. It was executed in 1515, and is a most disagreea-

For the altar of Our Lady in the church of St. Job, in Canareio, Vittore painted the Madonna presenting the infant Christ to Simeon ;[7] the Virgin is depicted as standing upright, and Simeon, in the Cope or Pluvial, is placed between two ministering priests, who are clothed as cardinals ; behind the Virgin are two women, one of whom holds a pair of doves, and beneath are three boys sounding musical instruments, the first a lute, the second a wind instrument of a spiral form, and the third a lyre or kind of viol ; the colouring of all this picture is exceedingly pleasing and graceful. Vittore was without doubt a very diligent and able master ;[8] many of the pictures executed by him in Venice

ble and unsatisfactory picture, having much of Flemish ugliness and nothing of Flemish beauty.

[7] This picture, dated 1510, is the Presentation in the Temple, painted for the altar of the Sanudo family in the church of San Giobbe. It is now in the Academy, where it is one of a trinity of magnificent altar-pieces by Giovanni Bellini, Cima, and Carpaccio. The Carpaccio is a little less golden than the Bellini, a little blacker, nevertheless it is his masterpiece, and is a perfect type of what the Venetian *quattrocentisti*, and early *cinquecentisti* felt to be fitting for an altar-picture. Notice especially the greater height, in relation to the width of the panel, than was commonly accorded to Florentine altar-pieces. As to its color the picture, while rich and mellow, if compared with many Tuscan altar-pictures, falls distinctly below Carpaccio's best work; also there is a certain papery and thin modelling, which would have been less noticeable in the half-light of the church than it is in its present position, but the dignity and beauty of the treatment, as a whole, more than make up for this lack of color. The embroidered cope of St. Simeon offers that delightful sincerity of workmanship in detail which is half-Gothic, even in the case of this Italian master, while the *angioletto* seated on the steps is one of those rare figures which charm the ignorant, the dilettante, and the artist at once.

[8] After the Legend of St. Ursula the frieze of subjects painted by Carpaccio for the Dalmatian Scuola of Saints George and Tryphonius may count as second in importance. The Scuola is attached to the church of San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, that George (see Molmenti, *op. cit.*, p. 116), who was Bishop of Salona, and is patron of the isle of Pago and all of Dalmatia. Part of the work illustrates the legendary history of the saint, while three of the pictures are devoted to the life of St. Jerome as a native of Stridonia in Dalmatia. The various scenes represented upon one wall are: St. Jerome in his Study, the Death of St. Jerome, St. Jerome and the Lion, the Conversion of Matthew the Publican, and the Agony in the Garden. Upon the other wall are: St. Tryphonius Slaying the Basilisk; and King Aia and his Wife Baptized by St.

and other places,[9] with numerous portraits from the life by his hand are held in great esteem as works of that time.

George in Lybia. The third wall has St. George killing the Dragon, and St. George drawing the dying Dragon into the City.

In these pictures, even more than in the Ursula series, one recognizes Carpaccio as the teller of legends and of fairy tales. This Saint George rides straight out of the Seven Champions of Christendom; he is very famous among æsthetes and artists, and has been praised so highly that he has had perhaps a little more than his deserts. Rising in his stirrups, bending forward at the waist, painted as by one who knew how real knights at real joustings looked, and how they sat their horses, this flaxen-haired, black-armored hero is a most charming militant saint, but his horse, though it gallops with plenty of movement, is a hobbyhorse after all, and to place the San Giorgio on a par with the Colleone or the Gattemelata would be to mistake the nature of art criticism.

[9] Between 1511 and 1515 Carpaccio executed a third episodical legendary series of pictures from the life of St. Stephen, consisting of four canvases and an altar-panel. Of these, one, the Preaching of St. Stephen at Jerusalem, is in the Louvre, the Ordination of St. Stephen (1511) is in Berlin, the Dispute between St. Stephen and the Doctors is in Milan. M. Müntz (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 592) calls these three works "ethnographical pictures," in which the master has given especial attention to the delineation of exotic types. The fourth picture, the Stoning of St. Stephen (1515), is in the museum of Stuttgart. The altar-piece has disappeared (see Molmenti, *op. cit.*, p. 94). The gallery of Vienna has a Christ Adored by Angels, which is signed and dated 1496, as also (see Molmenti, *op. cit.*, p. 86) a Communion of St. Jerome and the Burial of St. Jerome. These three works, mentioned by Ridolfi in his *Meraviglie delle Arti*, came from the Scuola of S. Jerome at Venice. They have all greatly suffered from the effects of time and retouching. The gallery of Stuttgart has also a St. Stephen in Glory. London has the Mocenigo Madonna. The cathedral of Capo d'Istria has, according to Sig. Molmenti, a Madonna and Child, with the six patron saints of the city, and the town-hall possesses a picture of the Entry of a Podestà. Both pictures have been badly damaged by restoration. The work of Molmenti may be consulted also for descriptions of the picture of the Patriarch of Grado healing one possessed of the Devil (Accademia delle Belle Arti); the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, a small picture of monks carrying the cross in the interior of a church (Accademia); a Lion of St. Mark in the Ducal Palace, and a St. Ursula with her Father, which belonged to the collection of Sir Henry Layard (Mr. Bernard Berenson, *op. cit.*, adds to this picture two others in the same collection, an Assumption of the Virgin, and an Augustus with the Sibyl). In the Museo Correr of Venice are a half-length figure of a youth, a Salutation, and the two Venetian Ladies with their Pets, which Mr. Ruskin finds the most beautiful picture in the world. Why, having the Ursula pictures, the St. George and the Presentation, to choose from, to speak only of the works of Carpaccio, he should make such a selection may surprise many lovers of Italian art. The church of San Vitale, just at the head of the iron bridge across the

Scarpaccia taught his art to two of his brothers,[10] both of whom imitated him closely ; one of these was called Lazzaro, the other Sebastiano. There is a picture by these artists in the church belonging to the nuns of the Corpus Domini, it stands on the altar of the Virgin, and represents her seated with St. Catherine on one side and St. Martha on the other : there are besides other saints, with two angels playing musical instruments, and a perspective view of buildings, which

canal, has a curious picture, in which, among other figures, is an equestrian one of the patron saint. The latter, with short beard, bald forehead, and hair falling about his neck, looks like a fifteenth-century Garibaldi ; while his singularity is heightened by the fact that, although on horseback, he carries a halberd instead of a lance. About him are Saints James, John, Paulinus, George, Gervasius, and Protasius, while the Madonna and Child appear, and also an angel playing a musical instrument. The picture was painted in 1514. A Coronation of the Virgin in SS. Giovanni e Paolo is criticised by M. Müntz (who seems to admit the attribution to Carpaccio) as rather elegant than imposing. Sig. Molmenti, *op. cit.*, p. 94, would appear to infer that no genuine Carpaccio now exists in the said church. In the church of Sant' Alvise, away out upon the northern edge of the city, are a number of little square panel pictures which Mr. Ruskin considers to have been the work of Carpaccio while he was still a child. Sig. Molmenti does not admit the attribution. In Sig. Molmenti's interesting chapter on the works of Carpaccio outside of Venice, he gives a reproduction (p. 87) of an ancona in five compartments, painted in 1518, and now in the church of Pozzali in Cadore. He also mentions a Virgin, with six saints, in the church of S. Francesco di Pirano. He cites Bishop Paolo Naldini (1700) and others as claiming the existence of pictures by Carpaccio in various Istrian village churches, but documentary evidence concerning Carpaccio is almost non-existent. One famous letter to the Gonzaga of Mantua has been recently discovered. It is dated August 15, 1511, and in it the master describes his painting, The Jerusalem, as most excellent in quality and *dimensions*. See Molmenti, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–69.

[10] Milanesi, III., 642, note 3, feels sure that these two "brothers" of Carpaccio are really one and the same person, Lazzaro Sebastiani. A Benedetto Carpaccio has left signed pictures at Capo d'Istria.

In a single paragraph of ten lines, which follows the account of Carpaccio, Vasari dismisses the great Giovanni Battista Cima of Conegliano, who well deserved a biography to himself. The author mentions only one of his pictures, the St. Peter Martyr, now in the Brera, and one of the most impressive works of any Italian school. There is a fine Baptism of Christ by Cima in S. Giovanni in Bragora at Venice, as well as panel pictures of Constantine and Helena ; the Carmine has a Tobias, and the Academy possesses several works, but Cima's masterpieces are the Peter Martyr, of Milan, and his Saint John at the Orto. Not even the Florentines, with all their cultus of their patron saint, surpassed this Venetian in his realization of the type of the Precursor.

forms the background of the whole work and is very beautiful. Of this we have the drawings by the hands of the masters themselves in our book.[11]

[11] Carpaccio is the minstrel, the tale-teller; more than any of the others of his school of Venice he fascinates and entertains. His canvases delight us with what seems a strange and wonderful mingling together of the Bible and of the Arabian Nights, yet his piety is unaffected and his gayety is steadied by a flavor of Flemish earnestness. He is a true Venetian of Venice, that marvellous hybrid in the Arts, with its Byzantine sense of color, its quaint overlay of northern influence, its solid Italian good sense and realism, and it is partly because he tells us with the sincerity of one who is still to a certain extent a primitive master, the wonderful story of this meeting of East and West and North, that his pictures hold us so long. Like Gentile Bellini, he loves a panoramic development of a subject with a regular architectural setting and a foreground filled with busy figures; but although he is a much less skilful draughtsman than Gentile, he has far more invention and poetic sense. Indeed, though he is inferior to Giovanni in depth of feeling, or loftiness of style, he unites in a very happy way the qualities of the great Bellini brothers. His drawing is often faulty; his figures spindle-shanked, short-bodied, and sometimes cloven almost to the waist by their long legs; his faces are frequently homely, others of them are lacking in construction, but the charm of his work makes up for all, while the lightness of treatment of his sacred legends is qualified and ennobled by some of the clearest and most golden color to be found in the whole range of art.

LUCA SIGNORELLI,[1] OF CORTONA, PAINTER

[Born about 1441 ; died 1523]

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THE excellent painter, Luca Signorelli, of whom, according to the order of time, we are now to speak, was, in his day most highly renowned through all Italy, and his words were held in more esteem than those of any other master have been at any time, seeing that in his paintings he showed the true mode of depicting the nude

[1] Luca d'Egidio di Luca di Ventura Signorelli, usually called Luca Signorelli or Luca da Cortona. The date of Signorelli's birth has not been ascertained with certainty.

form, and proved that it can be made, although not without consummate art and much difficulty, to appear as does the actual life. This artist was the creature and disciple of Pietro del Borgo-a-San Sepolcro,[2] and much did he labor in his youth to imitate, or rather to surpass, his master.[3] While working with the latter in Arezzo, he was received into the house of Lazzaro Vasari, his uncle,[4] as we have said, and there copied the manner of Pietro with such exactitude that it was difficult to distinguish the works of one from those of the other.

The first works[5] of Luca were performed in Arezzo, where he painted the chapel of Santa Barbara, in the church of San Lorenzo: this he did in the year 1472.[6] For the Brotherhood of Santa Caterina he painted, on canvas and in oil, the banner which is borne by that company in procession, as he did the banner for the Trinità; although this does not seem to be by the hand of Luca so much as by that of Pietro dal Borgo.[7] In the same city, Luca Signorelli painted the picture of San Niccolò da Tolentino for the

[2] Piero della Francesca.

[3] Rumohr (*Ital. Forsch.*, II. 333) believes that Signorelli studied with Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, but critics are generally agreed that Luca owes most of his training to Piero della Francesca. His Scourging of Christ, an early picture (in the Brera), strongly suggests Piero, says M. Müntz (*L'Age d'Or*, p. 699), but is a very mediocre work.

[4] Vasari mentions this in the Life of Lazzaro Vasari. The mother of Luca was a sister of Lazzaro Vasari, the great-grandfather of our author.

[5] We first hear of Signorelli as painting at Cortona (church of S. Francesco), in 1470, and not at Arezzo, as stated by Vasari. Luca did not paint at Arezzo until 1472. The works in the chapel of Santa Barbara have disappeared.

[6] If still associated with Piero in 1472 Luca was undoubtedly rather a fellow-worker, even if dependent, than a pupil.

[7] The banner seems to have been an important feature in the processions of the Renaissance. Luca appears to have been a famous painter of these banners. In addition to those of Arezzo, and which have been lost, he executed one for Città di Castello in 1488, and in 1494 another, which still remains in the church of San Spirito at Urbino; the latter offers as its two subjects the Descent of the Holy Ghost and the Women weeping over the dead Christ. A third processional standard, in the Municipal Palace of Borgo S. Sepolcro, is praised by Morelli (Italian Masters, II., p. 92).

church of Sant' Agostino : the very beautiful little stories of this work display excellent design and rich invention.[8] In the same place our artist painted two angels [9] in fresco, for the chapel of the Sacrament. In the church of San Francesco, and in the chapel of the Accolti family, he painted a picture for Messer Francesco,[10] doctor of laws, wherein he depicted the portraits of the said Messer Francesco, with others of persons who were of his kindred. In this work is a figure of St. Michael weighing the souls of the departed, which is most admirable ; and here Luca has displayed the knowledge he had acquired in the brilliancy of the arms, the reflected lights to be seen therein, and, in short, throughout every part of the work : in the hand of the archangel he has placed a balance, or pair of scales, in which the nude forms, some rising as the others sink, are foreshortened to admiration, and, among other ingenious things in this picture is a nude figure, most skilfully transformed into a fiend, with a lizard sucking the blood from a wound in its body. The Madonna is also present, with the Divine Child in her arms : Our Lady is accompanied by San Stefano, San Lorenzo, and Santa Caterina : there are, besides, two angels, one of whom is playing on a lute, the other on a small cithern, or rebeck. All these figures are so beautifully clothed, and adorned in a manner so judicious, that they awaken the utmost admiration. But the most extraordinary part of this painting is the predella, which is covered with small figures representing the Monks * of St. Catherine.[11]

In Perugia, also, Luca Signorelli executed many works ;

* The Italian words "*fatti di detta Santa Caterina*," should be translated "the deeds of the said St. Catherine."

[8] The church was suppressed and the pictures carried to the refectory ; they have since disappeared.

[9] These angels have also disappeared.

[10] This is Francesco Accolti, the legist, who died at Siena in 1488 ; his portrait in the Uffizi is believed to have been copied from this picture. See Milanesi, III. 684, note 5.

[11] This work is lost.

among others, one in the cathedral, painted by command of the Bishop, Messer Jacopo Vannucci, of Cortona: in this picture is the Virgin, with Sant' Onofrio, Sant' Ercolano, San Giovanni Battista, and San Stefano: there is also an exceedingly beautiful angel tuning a lute.[12] In the church of San Francesco, in Volterra, this master painted a fresco,[13] representing the Circumcision of Christ, this also is considered a wonderfully beautiful picture, but the Child having been injured by the damp, was repaired by Sodoma, whereby the beauty was much diminished. And, of a truth, it would often be much better to retain the works of excellent masters, though half spoiled, than suffer them to be retouched by less capable artists. In the same city Luca Signorelli painted a picture in tempera, for the church of Sant' Agostino,[14] and covered the predella with small figures representing the Crucifixion of Christ: this work has ever been considered to be one of extraordinary beauty. At Monte-a-Santa Maria he painted a picture, also in tempera, of the Dead Christ,[15] and at Città di Castello, a Nativity of the Saviour, for San Francesco,[16] with another in San Domen-

[12] This work is still *in situ*, in the chapel of Sant' Onofrio; it was executed in 1484.

[13] This panel (not fresco), is in the National Gallery, London. The Infant has been heavily repainted, probably because its realism offended, there is no reason for believing that Sodoma had anything to do with the repainting. See Dr. J. P. Richter's notes to Mrs. Foster's Vasari, VI., p. 151. Mr. E. T. Cook, in his Handbook to the National Gallery, calls attention to the fact that one of the principal figures in this work resembles the portrait of Signorelli in the Orvieto frescoes.

[14] Possibly the Adoration, painted in 1482, and now in the Louvre; but nothing is proved since no subject is given by Vasari. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 700, says that the Adoration of the Magi, which is in the Louvre, was painted, toward 1482, for the church of Sant' Agostino at Città di Castello. He adds that in 1493 the citizens of that town ordered a second Adoration of the Magi of the painter.

[15] This work is lost.

[16] The demand for votive pictures was so constant in the little mountain cities of the fiercely emotional province of Umbria, and indeed in those of Tuscany as well, that it created a kind of involuntary peripatetic school of widely different masters; and we find Signorelli, Perugino, and Pinturicchio

ico, the subject of which is San Sebastiano.[17] At Cortona, his native city, this master painted a Dead Christ,[18] in the church of Santa Margherita, which belongs to the barefooted Friars; it is accounted one of his best works. In the same city he painted three pictures for the Society of Jesus; of these that which is placed at the high altar is most admirable; the subject is the Saviour, who administers the sacrament to the apostles, when Judas places the host in the money-bag.[19] In the Capitular Church, which is now called the Episcopate, our artist painted certain Prophets of the natural size, in fresco, for the chapel of the Sacrament; around the tabernacle, moreover, are numerous Angels erecting a pavilion, and on each side are figures, one of St. Jerome, the other of St. Thomas Aquinas.[20] For the high altar of the same church, he painted a most beautiful Assumption on panel,[21] and the designs for the pictures in the principal window of the church were prepared by his hand; the cartoons of Signorelli being executed by Stagio Sassoli, of Arezzo. At Castiglione, in the territory of Arezzo, Luca Signorelli painted a Dead Christ, with the Maries, over the

hurrying about from one hill town to another, until Vasari's Life of Signorelli becomes, in this portion, a confused catalogue of names and places, churches and cities. Città di Castello seems to have been one of Luca's especial fields of activity. In 1488, after painting a banner representing the Madonna, he was given the freedom of the city. In 1880 there was a picture of the Nativity, in the possession of Signor Mancini at Città di Castello, which may possibly have been the work referred to by Vasari.

[17] Still in the Brozzi chapel in San Domenico, now called Borbon del Monte. It was executed in 1496.

[18] In the choir of the Cathedral of Cortona; the *predella* contains: Christ in the Garden, the Last Supper, the Kiss of Judas, the Taking of Christ, and the Flagellation.—Milanesi, III., p. 686, note 5.

[19] This picture is now in the Cathedral of Cortona. The other two pictures (still in the church of the Gesù) are an Adoration of the Shepherds, and a Conception of the Virgin Mary. Milanesi, III., 686, note 6.

[20] This picture has disappeared, probably when the altar was modernized in the middle of the eighteenth century.

[21] Said to be a picture belonging to the heirs of Cav. Luca Tommasi, of Cortona; it represents the Assumption of the Virgin with four saints below and angels above. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in Italy, III., p. 28, and Milanesi, III., p. 687, note 2.

chapel of the Sacrament,[22] and in San Francesco at Lucignano he decorated the folding doors of a press, wherein there is deposited a branch of coral, on the summit of which is formed a cross.[23] At Siena he painted a picture for the chapel of San Cristofano, in the church of St. Agostino,[24] wherein are certain saints, in the midst of whom is a figure of San Cristofano in relief.

From Siena, Luca Signorelli repaired to Florence for the purpose of beholding the works of the living masters, as well as those of the departed: he there depicted nude figures of the Gods,[25] on canvas, for Lorenzo de' Medici, a work which was highly extolled, and a picture of Our Lady, with two prophets, small figures in *terretta*. This is now at Castello, a villa belonging to the Signor Duke Cosimo.[26] Both of these works he presented to the above-named Lorenzo, who never suffered himself to be surpassed in liberality and generosity by any man. This master likewise painted a round picture of Our Lady, which is in the

[22] This fresco in the Collegiate church, still exists.

[23] These works are lost, but the curious reliquary of coral and goldsmith's work finished by Gabriello d'Antonio da Siena, in 1471 (but commenced in 1350), is described at length by Milanesi as still existing. See Vol. III., p. 687, note 5.

[24] The side panels of this altar-piece are in Berlin, they contain life-size figures of Saints Clara, Catherine of Alexandria, Jerome, Augustine, and Anthony of Padua. M. Müntz (*L'Age d'Or*, 704) calls them far superior to the figures in most of Luca's church pictures. The date, according to Tizio, is 1513. Morelli, Italian Masters, II., p. 92, mentions a Visitation at Berlin, a late work, bought from the Patrizi of Rome. In the latter city there is still, according to the same author, a little picture of the Holy Family in the Casino Rospigliosi. While in Siena Signorelli executed important frescoes for the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in Italy, III., 167. Of these, Coriolanus before Rome and the Triumph of Chastity are in the National Gallery. Dr. Richter doubts the authenticity of the Triumph.

[25] The so-called "School of Pan" in the Berlin Gallery. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 700, finds that while the picture has neither rhythm nor harmony, and is only an opportunity for Luca to show his anatomical knowledge, that it does not lack style and "a certain wild grace."

[26] It is now in the Uffizi. There are four nude figures in the background. Critics have traced the influence which this picture had on Michelangelo in his only authentic easel picture—the Holy Family, now also in the Uffizi.

Audience-Chamber belonging to the Chiefs of the Guelphic Council, and is exceedingly beautiful.[27] At Chiusuri, in the territory of Siena, one of the principal abodes of the Monks of Monte Oliveto,[28] Luca painted eleven historical

[27] It is now in the Uffizi and represents a Holy Family, with a landscape background.

[28] In the monastery of Monte Oliveto which is in the mountains, fifteen miles from the city of Siena, Signorelli painted eight frescoes representing scenes from the life of Saint Benedict. Rio considers these to be the greatest of Signorelli's works, and Vischer sets them down as perhaps the poorest of them. Neither critic is right, but the latter is the less mistaken of the two. M. Müntz wonders that Luca did not "begin at the beginning," that is to say, by the stories from the childhood of the saint, stories which in actual arrangement commence the series — although they were painted by Sodoma who was Luca's successor. It was only natural, however, that Luca should select those scenes which were sympathetic to him; stories in which he could introduce his bat-winged demons, and party-colored *lansquenets*—figures in fact which afford opportunity for the display of the body, and varied the monotony of the eternal monk's robe which appears in nearly all of the frescoes. He left the scenes from the boyhood of Benedict to the more facile and amiable genius of Bazzi, and painted the interview between the saint and the esquire of Totila, and a second interview with the Gothic king himself; the Temptation of a Young Monk; the Destruction of an Idol; the Chastisement of the Evil Monk Florentius; the Resurrection of a Monk; Satan Interfering with other Monks who are trying to raise a great stone; and the Disobedience of Two Truants who escape from the convent. Signorelli's rugged strength and imaginative power were out of touch with these petty miracles and childish subjects, and it is not surprising that he gave up the series when half finished and passed on to Orvieto. Even the best of these frescoes, the scene in an inn or hostelry, and the subjects which introduce the Goths, are hard and ugly in color, and have a certain coarseness of execution that is not vulgar, but is nevertheless disagreeable. The gothic soldiers are, however, excellent, for after a nude body Luca liked nothing so well as a swashbuckling *lansquenet* with close-fitting doublet and tights that showed muscular construction, attitudes that offered bold strong outlines, and braced the man firmly upon both feet planted wide apart, or else propped him upon his heavy lance on one hand, threw out a hip at an abrupt angle and set the other arm akimbo —the hand resting on the pommel of a sword. These Goths are simply the *bravi* of the Baglioni and Vitelli, or those Gascons whom Luca may have seen tramping down the peninsula at the heels of Charles VIII.

The frescoes are badly damaged, but are now protected by glass. Those who are desirous of making "either a literary or artistic study" of the frescoes at Monte Oliveto may obtain at the School of Fine Arts of Siena, the permission to pass several days and nights at the convent, and the visit is well worth while, not only for the frescoes of Signorelli and of Bazzi, and the terra cottas of the Robbia, but for the glorious scenery and the vast monastery itself. The

scenes on one side of the cloister, representing therein events from the life of San Benedetto. From Cortona our artist sent certain of his works to Montepulciano,[29] and to Foiano[30] he sent an altar-piece, which is now on the high altar of the Capitular church; other pictures were, in like manner, sent to other places in the Valdichiana. In the Madonna* of Orvieto, which is the principal church of that city, Luca Signorelli finished the chapel which had been commenced by Fra Giovanni da Fiesole.[31] He there repre-

Chiusuri mentioned by Vasari is in reality far above the monastery, at the top of a still higher mountain; it is a poor little Castello, but is dignified by the name of Lars Porsenna as its reputed founder.

* The Italian word *Madonna* should here be translated cathedral, or church of Our Lady.

[29] A *predella* containing the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi, from the church of Santa Lucia in Montepulciano, is in the Uffizi. The other pictures are supposed to be lost.

[30] Executed in 1522. The altar-piece, still *in situ*, represents the Virgin and Child with angels and saints, and in the *predella* are scenes from the life of Saint Martin.

[31] More than one master who is rich in fame would be comparatively poor if a single monument had been destroyed; but not one would have suffered greater eclipse than would have Signorelli, if the chapel of San Brizio in the Cathedral of Orvieto, had in some one of the accidents of sixteenth century Italy perished like the chapel of Mantegna in the Vatican, the frescoes of Pisanello in the Lateran, the decorations of the Bellini in the Ducal Palace of Venice—to cite but three out of many examples. Masaccio has left only the frescoes of the Carmine, Leonardo the fresco of S. Maria delle Grazie, but in seeing these we feel that, had their authors left other wall-paintings, the latter too must have been great. With Signorelli it is different, his paintings, excepting always his fresco of the Sistine, only emphasize the value of his Orvietan wall-pictures and enhance their importance as representative of what the artist could do. Even the Moses of the Sistine, as an exponent of Luca's capacity, cannot be compared with the frescoes at Orvieto. Signorelli did not care for the draped figure, although it must be admitted that his sentiment of grandeur sometimes showed itself in his arrangements of draperies, suavity too was foreign to his artistic nature, and all through his life the Umbrians had asked him for suave saints and heavily draped madonnas.

At last, when he was sixty years old, came the opportunity to do what he loved, to paint the naked human body. Here in the Chapel of the Madonna of San Brizio, in the Duomo of Orvieto, four great walls were given him, and for a subject the last day, when all flesh should be raised again, and with these bodies emergent from the earth the painter too has put on immortality.

Here Signorelli becomes one of that little band of artists, whose personal

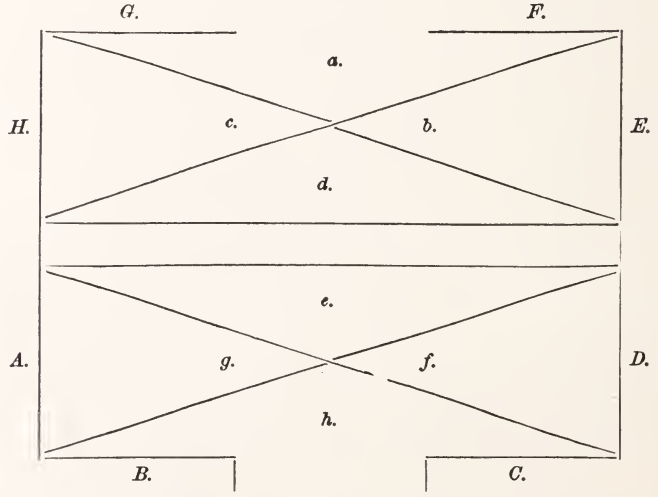
sented scenes descriptive of the Last Judgment, with most singular and fanciful invention. Angels, demons, earth-

contribution to the art evolution was so distinct, that each man's share may have its separate classification as a factor. Thus as Leonardo added chiaroscuro (in its developed form), and Fra Bartolommeo added the principles of monumental composition, so Signorelli contributed the naked body as a decorative motive. He created a great drama, in which expression by muscular construction and movement, not only played the leading rôle but the only rôle. The whole scheme is grandly thought out and clearly ordered, but the naked bodies of men and women are the painter's unique material. Not only does he in his Last Judgment strip off and throw away all the gowns and crowns and robes which Orgagna, a great imaginative artist too in his day, had used, but when he comes to the framing of his scenes, in the pilasters which other men had filled with tripods and garlands, sphinxes and birds, he discards all decorative accessories and bending his naked people into the strangest attitudes, builds up his decoration with them alone. He uses his sphinxes and beasts indeed, but in other portions of his scroll work and only as accessory to the ever-present human figure. "His play," says Symonds, "was the pastime of a Prometheus;" "he made, as it were, a parade of hard and rugged types, scorning to introduce an element of beauty, whether sensuous or ideal, that should distract him from the study of the body in and for itself." The same author, John Addington Symonds, in his admirable passages upon Signorelli (The Renaissance, Fine Arts, pp. 278-94), adds that we may differentiate "four distinct grades of corporeal expression" in Luca's work: First "the abstract nude, illustrated by the Resurrection and the arabesques at Orvieto. Contemporary life [the second grade], with all its pomp of costume and insolence of ruffling youth, is depicted in the *fulminati* at Orvieto, and in the soldiers of Totila at Monte Oliveto." "Third in degree, we find the highly idealized adolescence reserved by Signorelli for his angels. All his science and sympathy with real life are here subordinated to poetic feeling." In the fourth grade are the demons, whom Signorelli "created by exaggerating the more grotesque qualities of the nude developed in his arabesques." In Symonds's delightful appreciation of the frescoes, it is difficult to wholly agree with what he says of the draped angels in the clouds above the elect. "The grave and solemn sense of beauty" is there, the two flying angels are admirably draped; so are two of the seated ones, but with the others, one does not feel the construction of their bodies; a drapery seems to have hampered Signorelli, either through indifference or impatience, he rarely stopped to paint or study it. The faces, too, are unindividual, are all alike, although they approach more nearly to a grave gentleness than do most of the faces of a master habitually indifferent to physiognomy.

The commission for these frescoes was given April 5, 1499, and the last payment for them is dated December 5, 1504. They were therefore completed between these years. They are painted upon the vaulting and walls of the Chapel of the *Madonna di San Brizio*, in the Duomo of Orvieto. On the vaulting (beside the work of Angelico) are Angels, Prophets with the Virgin, Patriarchs and Fathers of the Church, Martyrs and Virgins. In a niche is a *Pietà* and on

quakes, ruins, fires, miracles of Antichrist, and many other objects of similar kind, are depicted in this work, with

the walls are four great compositions, namely: The Preaching of Antichrist, The Resurrection, Hell, and Paradise. In the four pendentives are The End of the World, and the Rain of Fire, while Hell and Paradise appear a second time. Upon the borders below are circular pictures containing the poets of antiquity, probably Ovid, Claudian, Virgil, Homer, Horace, and also Dante, in the midst of a whole maze of decorative figures, mythological and allegorical. These are in monochrome, while there is a half-length figure of Hesiod painted in color, and there are chiaroscuro scenes from Dante's *Purgatorio* and Ovid's Metamorphoses. Luca executed also a Saint Mary Magdalen for the cathedral, which is now in the rooms of the Opera del Duomo. Two Würtemberg painters, Bothe and Pfannenschmidt, in 1845 restored the Chapel of San Brizio at their own expense and were made honorary citizens of Orvieto. See the accompanying rough plan of the chapel:



a. Christ in glory among Angels.
b. The Prophets (by Fra Angelico).
c. Madonna with the Apostles.
d. Judgment Angels.
e. The Martyrs.
f. The Patriarchs.
g. The Fathers of the Church.
h. The Blessed Virgins.
A. Left wall. Preaching of Antichrist.
B. One side of door. Prophets and Sibyls announcing Judgment.
C. Devils seizing their victims.
D. The Resurrection.
E. The Damned.
F. Subsidiary groups of Hell and Paradise.
G. Subsidiary groups of Hell and Paradise.
H. The Blessed.

nude forms, varied foreshortenings, and many beautiful figures, the master having imagined to himself all that shall go to make up the terrors of that last and tremendous day. By this performance the artist enlightened the minds of all who came after him, for whom he has, indeed, greatly diminished the difficulties attendant on that mode of representation : nor am I surprised that the works of Luca were ever highly extolled by Michelagnolo, or that for his divine work of the Last Judgment, painted in the chapel (Sistine), he should have courteously availed himself, to a certain extent, of the inventions of that artist, as, for example, in the angels and demons, in the divisions of the heavens, and some other parts, wherein Michelagnolo imitated the mode of treatment adopted by Luca, as may be seen by every one.

In the work here alluded to are numerous portraits of the friends of Luca, as also his own : among others are those of Niccolò, Paolo, and Vitellozzo Vitelli, Giovan-Paolo and Orazio Baglioni, and many others, whose names are not known. In Santa Maria di Loretto, Signorelli painted certain frescoes in the Sacristy, the Four Evangelists namely, with the Four Doctors, and other Saints, all very beautiful : for this work he was most liberally remunerated by Pope Sixtus.[32]

It is related of Luca Signorelli that he had a son killed in Cortona, a youth of singular beauty in face and person, whom he had tenderly loved. In his deep grief, the father caused the child to be despoiled of his clothing, and, with extraordinary constancy of soul, uttering no complaint and shedding no tear, he painted the portrait of his dead child,

[32] Besides the subjects enumerated by Vasari, two of the walls have pictures of the Conversion of Paul and the Incredulity of Thomas ; five of the walls (the sacristy is octagonal) have each two apostles. The eighth wall is filled by the window. In the nave he painted in *grisaglio* twenty-six seated figures of Doctors and of Prophets in medallions. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 699, dates these frescoes as having been executed between 1476 and 1479. They count as one of the four great works of Signorelli as *frescante*, the others being the series at Mount Oliveto and Orvieto and the fresco of the Sistine Chapel.

to the end that he might still have the power of contemplating, by means of the work of his own hands, that which nature had given him, but which an adverse fortune had taken away.

Being invited by Pope Sixtus to work in the chapel of his palace in competition with the numerous masters occupied there, Luca painted two pictures [33] in that place accordingly, and these, even among so many, are considered the best: the first represents the Parting Bequest of Moses to the Hebrew people, after he had obtained a view of the promised land; the second exhibits the Death of that Lawgiver.

Finally, having executed works for almost all the princes of Italy, and having become old, Luca Signorelli returned to Cortona, where, in his last years, he worked for his pleasure, rather than from any other motive, and because, having ever been accustomed to labour, he could not prevail on himself to live in idleness. In this his old age then he painted a picture for the Nuns of Santa Marghereta, in Arezzo,[34] and one for the brotherhood of San Girolamo, the

[33] He painted but one picture in the Sistina, though it includes in itself several episodes from the History of Moses and is one of the finest works in the series. It is likely that Luca worked in the chapel many years after Perugino; Botticelli and the others finished (in 1484) their frescoes there. Sig. Gnoli, in *l' Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, quotes a passage in Paolo Cortese, *de Cardinalatu*, 1510; making it probable that Signorelli painted in the Sistine Chapel under Julius II., *i.e.*, after 1503.

[34] The picture for the nuns of Santa Margherita has never been identified, as Vasari does not mention the subject of it. A Virgin and Child enthroned with S. Simeone, S. Giacomo Maggiore, S. Bonaventura and S. Francesco, painted by Luca for the church of Arcevia, has been found at Figino near Milan and taken to the Brera; it will be completed by a *lunette* (God the Father) and a *predella* (scenes from the life of the Virgin), these having been sold to an antiquary by the Filippini heirs. The oil restorations have been removed by Sig. Cavenaghi, and the picture is highly praised by Sig. Frizzoni. Città di Castello still possesses a martyrdom of S. Sebastian in the church of S. Domenico. Florence has (see MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*) in the Uffizi a Virgin and Child, a Holy Family, a Triptych; in the Pitti a Holy Family; in the Academy a Crucifixion and a Virgin and Child with saints; in the Palazzo Corsini a Virgin and Child. The Louvre (see the same authors, *Le Louvre*) has an Adoration of the Magi, a Birth of the Virgin,

last being partly at the cost of Messer Niccolo Gamurrini, doctor of laws and auditor of the Ruota, whose portrait, taken from the life, is in the picture; he is kneeling before the Madonna, to whose protection he is recommended by San Niccolo, who is also depicted in the same painting. In the same work are figures of San Donato and San Stefano, with that of San Girolamo (St. Jerome) undraped, beneath; there is likewise a figure of David, singing to a Psaltery, with two Prophets, who are seen, by the written scrolls which they hold in their hands, to be engaged in a conference on the conception of the Virgin. This work was transported from Cortona to Arezzo by the members of that brotherhood, who bore it on their shoulders from the first-named city to the last, when Luca also, old as he was, determined on repairing to Arezzo, to see the picture in its place, and also that he might visit his kindred and friends. During his stay in Arezzo his abode was in the "Casa Vasari," where I was then a little child of eight years old, and I remember that the good old man, who was exceedingly courteous and agreeable, having heard from the master who was teaching me my first lessons, that I attended to nothing in school but drawing figures, turned round to Antonio, my father, and said to him, "Antonio, let little George (Georgino) by all means learn to draw, that he may not degenerate, for even though he should hereafter devote himself to learning, yet the knowledge of design, if not profitable, cannot fail to be honourable and advantageous." Then turning to me, who was standing immediately before him, he said, "Study well, little kinsman." He said many other things respecting me, which I refrain from repeating, because I know that I have been far from justifying the opinion which that good old man had of me. Being told that I suffered, as was the case at that age, so severely from

and a fragment of a composition. Morelli, Italian Masters, p. 261, thinks that the panels (36 and 37) in Dresden, attributed to Luca, are really by pupils. He notes the charcoal study for the Last Judgment of four nude figures in the same gallery.

bleeding at the nose, as sometimes to be left fainting and half dead thereby, he bound a jasper round my neck with his own hand, and with infinite tenderness : this recollection of Luca will never depart while I live.[35] Having placed his picture in its destined position, Luca returned to Cortona, being accompanied to a considerable distance on his road by many of the citizens, as well as by his friends and relations, and this was an honour well merited by the excellences and endowments of this master, who always lived rather in the manner of a noble and a gentleman than in that of a painter.

About the same time Silvio Passerini, Cardinal of Cortona, had built a palace about half a mile distant from the city, after the design of the painter, Benedetto[36] Caporali of Perugia, who took great delight in architecture, and had written a commentary on Vitruvius but a short time before. This palace the cardinal determined to have amply decorated with paintings, wherefore Benedetto set himself to work, and being assisted by Maso Papacello, of Cortona, who was his disciple, and had studied under Giulio Romano likewise, as will be related hereafter ; and by Tommaso, as well as other disciples and workmen, he did not cease until he had painted almost the whole of the building in fresco. But the Cardinal desired to have a picture from the hand of Luca also, whereupon the latter, although very old and

[35] A curious little domestic picture is given by Symonds, who cites a letter of Michelangelo, in which the latter tells how Master Luca Signorelli came to see him in Rome, while he, Michelangelo, was blocking out the figure of a man with his hands bound behind him (one of the captives now in the Louvre), and how Luca borrowed forty giulios which Michelangelo fetched from above stairs and gave to him, in presence of the Bolognese maid-servant and of Silvio the Apprentice. Years after Michelangelo, stating that the debt had not been repaid, wrote a complaining letter to the magistrates of Cortona. Luca in turn claimed that he had repaid it, and in view of the fact that the money might easily have gone astray on the road in days when the machinery of payment was much less sure than now, it is possible that both artists were honest in their claim, and unfortunate that the not over-patient Michelangelo should have written.

[36] Giovanni Battista, not Benedetto.

afflicted with palsy, depicted the Baptism of Christ by St. John, in fresco, on the wall of the palace,[37] on that side namely whereon the altar stands; but he could not entirely finish it, seeing that while still working at this picture he died, having attained the eighty-second year of his age.

Luca Signorelli was a man of the most upright life, sincere in all things, affectionate to his friends, mild and amiable in his dealings with all, most especially courteous to every one who desired his works, and very efficient as well as kind in the instruction of his disciples. He lived very splendidly, took much pleasure in clothing himself in handsome vestments, and was always held in the highest esteem for his many good qualities, both in his own country and in others.

And now, with the close of this master's life, which took place in 1521,[38] we will bring this second part of our work to an end, terminating with Luca,[39] [40] as the master who, in

[37] *In situ* in the chapel of the Villa Passerini, called *il Palazzone*.

[38] In 1523, rather in the night of the last of November and first of December.

[39] The portrait of Luca Signorelli by himself is in one of the frescoes at Orvieto (in the Preaching of Antichrist). The Torrigiani Gallery in Florence contains a life-size portrait by Signorelli of a man in a red cap and vest, which is supposed to be the painter himself. Luca held a magistracy in his native town, for terms of two months, in the years 1488, 1495, 1497, 1502, 1504, 1520, and 1524.

[40] Cortona lies midway between Umbria and Tuscany, and for forty years Luca Signorelli, its greatest painter, halted between the schools of the two provinces, turning at last to that of Florence, and triumphantly vindicating his choice. Signorelli in his altar-pieces and in his frescoes, or rather in his small and his large work, had two wholly different manners. In the latter he was competent, powerful, sure; in the former, hesitating in his choice of types, uncertain in their expression, and fumbling in the handling of his material. This is general criticism. Sometimes a figure in a composition, some *lansquenet* in close fitting costume, or naked faun, gives a promise of what Luca could do with congenial subject-matter; and a few of his altar-pieces and small works have real grandeur and show the spirit of Orvieto. M. Müntz says that in his altar-pieces Luca tried to change his style and imitate Perugino. This in itself would have quite sufficiently hindered his successful expression, for he had little natural feeling for color and used crude oppositions of light and shade completely foreign to Perugino's methods. He has been characterized as a master, with a mingling of crude realism and imagina-

the fundamental principles of design, more especially in the nude form, and by the grace of his inventions, as well as the disposition of the events he depicted, laid open to all succeeding artists the path to the ultimate perfection of art, that perfection, to the highest summit of which those who followed him, and of whom we are henceforward to speak, were afterwards enabled to attain.

tive power, but he was a realist only in his desire to imitate exactly the muscles of the naked human body, a thorax bending or straining, legs braced widely apart, arms tossing or lifting. And even here it was construction that he sought rather than subtlety of modelling. In his altar-pieces the figures were often inadequate and weak, their faces generalized and lacking in character. He did not quite seem to know what he wished to express. In his Orvietan frescoes, on the contrary, he knew exactly what he wanted to say, and said it with a power which made the cycle of the Madonna of San Brizio one of the most remarkable of the epoch. There is no more notable example of an artist succeeding in what he liked to do, and failing in the attempt at what he did *not* like to do. In many of his pictures at Cortona and certain cities of Umbria he left only the souvenir of a powerful, hasty, hesitating, and incomplete artist, though giving at times magnificent promise; as a *frescante*, he was unequal at Monte Oliveto, but at Orvieto he found the material for his life's work and made himself an immortal name.

His color was crude, chalky in the whites, and bricky in the flesh tones; he did not really care for color, nor did he greatly care for faces either, except as the vehicles for expression, not individual but general expression, as, for instance, of joy in his elect, of ferocity in his demons. Expression by muscular construction and movement was what he loved best in the world; the bending of a body at the hips, the bracing of the legs, the turning of a head or throat; he liked to strongly indicate the ridge of a backbone or the edge of a shoulder-blade by sharp contrasts of light and shade, and his handling of surfaces, if not exactly brutal, and certainly not vulgar, has a coarseness, because while as a painter he was not facile he was impatient, and thereby worked with a kind of violence.

Criticism generally has echoed Vasari, that Luca was a precursor of Michelangelo, which he was indeed rather than a prototype. Michelangelo formed his style on Donatello and on Jacopo della Quercia, but it was the decorative inspiration of the great Cortonese in Orvieto that taught the great Florentine in Rome to suspend his naked youths against the pendentives of the Sistine Chapel, and to make the undraped human body subject and means at once, principal and accessory. The trumpets of the Judgment of Orvieto sounded the end of the old and ushered in the triumphal entrance of the new "grand manner."

LEONARDO DA VINCI,[1] FLORENTINE PAINTER AND SCULPTOR

[Born 1452; died 1519.]

Bibliography.—The most important literary sources for the study of Leonardo da Vinci are his own writings. These are so encyclopædic as to have called for the united study of specialists in many directions. They are so difficult to decipher, being written backward, that is from right to left, and so full of valuable memoranda in the shape of diagrams and sketches, that they have been reproduced for publication by the modern photo-mechanical processes, and they are so considerable in bulk that their reproduction has been undertaken by societies and under royal patronage. Two editions of Leonardo's celebrated *Trattato della Pittura* have come down to us, one (abridged) of 365 chapters, one of 912 chapters. The first printed edition was published in Paris in 1651; the unabridged work was published in 1817, after the discovery by Manzi in the Vatican library of a transcript of the original. There have been many subsequent editions, including the Florentine of 1792 and the Milanese of 1804, with an important life of Leonardo by Carlo Amoretti. The latest and most complete edition of Leonardo's literary works, an edition in which the Italian text and English translation confront each other, is Dr. Jean Paul Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, London, 1883 (illustrated with fine plates). The original MS. of the celebrated *Trattato della Pittura* is lost, but Dr. Richter (see Vol. I., p. xvii., Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci) has found an original fragment of one of the best known portions of the said *Trattato* in the collection of Lord Ashburnham. This *Trattato* is considered by students to be a compilation of scattered facts relative to painting, and taken from the notes and manuscripts of Leonardo, possibly by Melzi or Mazzenta. Other MSS. by Leonardo are in Rome, Milan, Holkham Hall, Windsor, and South Kensington; the British Museum contains a volume of notes by him, consisting of 283 pages, written backward. The splendid manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut* and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, illustrated with sketches which have careful explanatory notes upon them, have been reproduced in *fac-simile* by M. Ch. Ravaisson-

[1] Leonardo di Ser Piero d'Antonio di Ser Piero di Ser Guido da Vinci, called Leonardo da Vinci. The orthography "Lionardo" does not occur in the manuscripts or signatures.

Mollien. The *Codex Atlanticus*, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, consists of 392 leaves and 1,750 drawings. The index of Leonardo's MSS. is given in J. P. Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, London, 1883. Other publications are as follows: Charles Ravaisson-Mollien, *Les Manuscrits de Léonard de Vinci, de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Paris, publiés en fac-similés avec transcription littérale, traduction, préface et table méthodique, par Charles Ravaisson-Mollien*, 6 vols., Paris, Quantin Press. *Il Codice Atlantico di Leonardo da Vinci, riprodotto e pubblicato dalla Regia Accademia dei Lincei sotto gli auspici del Re et del Governo*, Milan, 1895, with 1,750 drawings on 800 large sheets, reproduced by heliotype plates; besides the phototype reproduction of the MSS. notes there is a transcription by Dr. Giovanni Piumati, and a dictionary of obsolete terms by Luca Beltrami. *Saggio delle Opere di Leonardo da Vinci* (a work in which a number of Italian *savants* have collaborated), Milan, 1872. Luca Beltrami, *Il Codice di Leonardo da Vinci, nella Biblioteca del principe Trivulzio in Milano, trascritto ed annotato*, Milan, 1891. This is a photographic reproduction and is volume V. of the Arconati donation. *Leonardo da Vinci, Trattato della pittura condotto sul codice Vaticano Urbinate* 1270, *con prefazione di Marco Tabarrini, preceduto della vita di Leonardo scritta da Giorgio Vasari, con nuove note e commentario di Gaetano Milanesi*, Rome. *I manoscritti di Leonardo da Vinci, Codice sul volo degli Uccelli e varie altre moterie, pubblicato da Teodoro Sabachnikoff, trascrizione e note di Giovanni Piumati traduzione in lingua francese di Carlo Ravaisson-Mollien*, Paris, 1893. (This work is reviewed in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1894, II., 345, by Baron H. Von Geymüller.) J. P. Richter, *Bibliographie der Handschriften Leonardo's, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XVIII., pp. 88, 127, 154, 190. Dozio, *Degli Scritti e disegni di Leonardo da Vinci*, Milan, 1871. Jordan, *Das Malerbuch des Leonardo da Vinci*, Leipsic. Constantin Winterberg, *L. da Vinci's Malerbuch und seine Wissenschaftliche und Praktische Bedeutung*—an important article in Vol. VII. of the *Jahrbuch der K. P. S.* H. Ludwig, *L. da Vinci Das Buch von der Malerei*, Vienna, 1882. C. Ravaisson, *Des Écrits de Léonard de Vinci, Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXIII., 2d series. C. Ravaisson-Mollien, *Les Écrits de Léonard de Vinci, plaquette* in 8vo, Paris. Grothe, *Leonardo da Vinci als Ingenieur u. Philosoph*, Berlin. All the above publications refer directly to some of Leonardo's own writings; the works mentioned in the following list are of a more general character. C. Amoretti, *Memorie Storiche su la vita gli studj e le opere di Leonardo da Vinci*, Milan, 1804. Fumagalli, *Scuola di Leonardo da Vinci*, 1811. J. W. Brown, Life of Leonardo da Vinci, London, 1828. Count Hugo Gallenberg, *L. da Vinci*, Leipsic, 1834. E. Délécluze, *Saggio intorno a L. da Vinci*, Siena, 1844. A. F. Rio, *Leonardo da Vinci e la Sua Scuola*, Milan, 1857. C. Blanc, *Une Peinture de Léonard de Vinci* (*Saint Sébastien*), *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, first series, IX., p. 65, Paris, 1859. C. P. Milanesi, *Documenti inediti riguardanti Leonardo da Vinci*, Florence, 1872. G. Uzielli, *Ricerche intorno a Leonardo da Vinci*, 2d Ed., Turin, 1896. A. Houssaye, *Histoire de Léonard de Vinci*, Paris, 1876. Mrs. Heaton, Life of Leonardo da Vinci, London, 1874. J. P. Richter, Leonardo da Vinci, London, 1880. C. Brun, *Leonardo da Vinci*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler*. Camillo Boito, *Leonardo e Michelangelo*, Milan, 1879. Camillo

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THE richest gifts are occasionally seen to be showered, as by celestial influence, on certain human beings, nay, they sometimes supernaturally and marvellously congregate in one sole person; beauty, grace, and talent being united in such a manner, that to whatever the man thus favoured may turn himself, his every action is so divine as to leave all other men far behind him, and manifestly to prove that he has been specially endowed by the hand of God himself, and has not obtained his pre-eminence by human teaching, or the power of man. This was seen and acknowledged by all men in the case of Leonardo da Vinci, in whom, to say nothing of his beauty of person, which yet was such that it has never been sufficiently extolled, there was a grace beyond expression which was rendered manifest without thought or effort in every act and deed, and who had besides so rare a gift of talent and ability, that to whatever subject he turned his attention, however difficult, he presently made himself absolute master of it. Extraordinary power was in his case conjoined with remarkable facility, a mind of regal boldness and magnanimous daring; his gifts were such that the celebrity of his name extended most widely, and he was held in the highest estimation, not in his own time only, but also, and even to a greater extent, after his death, nay, this he has continued, and will continue to be by all succeeding ages.

Truly admirable, indeed, and divinely endowed was Leonardo da Vinci; this artist was the son of Ser Piero da Vinci;[2] he would without doubt have made great progress in learning and knowledge of the sciences, had he not been so versatile and changeful, but the instability of his character caused him to undertake many things which having commenced he afterwards abandoned. In arithmetic, for example, he made such rapid progress in the short time during which he gave his attention to it, that he often confounded the master who was teaching him, by the perpetual doubts he started, and by the difficulty of the questions he proposed. He also commenced the study of music, and resolved to acquire the art of playing the lute, when, being by nature of an exalted imagination and full of the most graceful vivacity, he sang to that instrument most divinely, improvising at once the verses and the music.

But, though dividing his attention among pursuits so varied, he never abandoned his drawing, and employed himself much in works of relief, that being the occupation which attracted him more than any other. His father, Ser Piero, observing this, and considering the extraordinary character of his son's genius, one day took some of his drawings and showed them to Andrea del Verrocchio, who was a very intimate friend of his, begging him earnestly to tell him whether he thought that Leonardo would be likely to secure success if he devoted himself to the arts of design. Andrea Verrocchio was amazed as he beheld the remarkable commencement made by Leonardo, and advised Ser Piero to see that he attached himself to that calling, whereupon the latter took his measures accordingly, and sent Leonardo to study in the bottega or workshop of Andrea. Thither the boy resorted therefore, with the utmost readiness, and not

[2] Leonardo was born at the Castello of Vinci, near Empoli in the Val d'Arno in 1452. He was the natural son of Ser Piero Antonio da Vinci, a notary to the Florentine Signoria. It is impossible to state with certainty whether Leonardo was legitimized or not, but it is probable that he was, at an early age, although no documents are in evidence. Leonardo was brought up in the house of his father, who married four times.

only gave his attention to one branch of art, but to all the others, of which design made a portion. Endowed with such admirable intelligence, and being also an excellent geometrician, Leonardo not only worked in sculpture (having executed certain heads in terra-cotta, of women smiling, even in his first youth, which are now reproduced in gypsum, and also others of children which might be supposed to have proceeded from the hand of a master); but in architecture likewise he prepared various designs for ground-plans, and the construction of entire buildings: he too it was who, though still but a youth, first suggested the formation of a canal from Pisa to Florence, by means of certain changes to be effected on the river Arno.[3] Leonardo likewise made designs for mills, fulling machines, and other engines, which were to be acted on by means of water; but as he had resolved to make painting his profession, he gave the larger portion of time to drawing from nature. He sometimes formed models of different figures in clay, on which he would arrange fragments of soft drapery dipped in plaster;[4] from these he would then set himself patiently to draw on very fine cambric or linen that had already been used and rendered smooth, these he executed in black and white with the point of the pencil in a most admirable manner, as may be seen by certain specimens from his own hand which I have in my book of drawings. He drew on paper also with so much care and so perfectly, that no one has ever equalled him in this respect. I have a head by him in chiaro-scuro, which is incomparably beautiful. Leonardo was indeed so imbued with power and grace by the hand of God, and was endowed with so marvellous a facility in reproducing his conceptions; his memory also was always so ready and so efficient in the service of his intellect, that in discourse he

[3] In 1500, when we first hear of him as studying this problem, he was forty-eight years old; and in 1503 he went to the neighborhood of Pisa to a consultation for changing the course of the Arno (Milanesi abridged). According to Bottari this work was executed about two hundred years later by Vincenzio Viviani, a disciple of Galileo.

[4] Naturally these models were soon destroyed.

won all men by his reasonings, and confounded every antagonist, however powerful, by the force of his arguments.

This master was also frequently occupied with the construction of models and the preparation of designs for the removal or the perforation of mountains, to the end that they might thus be easily passed from one plain to another. By means of levers, cranes, and screws, he likewise showed how great weights might be raised or drawn ; in what manner ports and havens might be cleansed and kept in order, and how water might be obtained from the lowest deeps. From speculations of this kind he never gave himself rest,[5]

[5] Leonardo da Vinci was the most universal genius of the Renaissance, perhaps of all time. He was painter, sculptor, architect, engineer, musician, philosopher, chemist, botanist, and geologist. He was the first great link between Archimedes and the modern scientist. (See Draper's Intellectual Development of Europe, II., 269.) He was acquainted with the earth's annual motion, knew the laws of friction and the principle of virtual velocities, studied the fall of bodies and times of descent along inclined planes and circular arcs. He considered the laws of combustion and respiration, first explained the true nature of fossil shells, foreshadowed the hypothesis of the elevation of continents, suggested the use of steam as a motive power in navigation, and left a sketch of a steam-cannon in his *Codex Atlanticus.* He (probably) studied anatomy under Marco della Torre, and we have some reason to believe that he was acquainted with the circulation of the blood. He helped the mathematician, Luca Pacioli, in one of his works, and is rather doubtfully credited with inventing the algebraical signs + and −. He collected plants, pressed them, and made *herbaria;* he also devised a method of taking leaf prints, which is in use to-day. In optics, heat, and magnetism, he is credited with important discoveries, including the invention of the camera obscura * and the hydrometer. In physical geography and meteorology his achievements were no less wonderful, embracing studies upon magnetic attraction and the effect of the moon on the tides. In pure mechanics he restored the laws of the lever. Sig. Lombardini (*Dell' Origine e del Progresso della Scienza idraulica*, Milan, 1872) considers him as the originator of the *science* of hydraulics. His system for the canalization of rivers is still of practical value. The boring of tunnels, the erection of derricks and fortifications, apparatus for raising buildings, all came in for a share of attention, and sketches

* In Dr. Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, I., 44, note, proofs are brought forward against the claim made for Leonardo, that he was the inventor of the camera obscura. It is possible that he was the first to explain the action of the human eye. See *Saggio delle Opere di Leonardo da Vinci*, Milan, 1872. Leonardo is commonly credited with the invention of the aid to drawing, known as the vertical plane. See E. von Brücke in his *Bruchstücke aus der Theorie der bildender Künste*, Leipsic, 1877.

and of the results of these labours and meditations there are numberless examples in drawings, &c., dispersed among those who practise our arts: I have myself seen very many of them. Besides all this he wasted not a little time, to the degree of even designing a series of cords, curiously intertwined, but of which any separate strand may be distinguished from one end to the other, the whole forming a complete circle: a very curiously complicated and exceedingly difficult specimen of these coils may be seen engraved;[6] in the midst of it are the following words:—*Leonardus Vinci Academia.*[7] Among these models and drawings there

for them, with explanatory notes written backward in a crabbed hand, still remain. The breech-loading cannon which antedated Leonardo, was improved by him. The obelisks on the Thames embankment, London, and at Central Park, New York, were raised to position by a mechanism similar to that designed by Leonardo for precisely the same purpose. His machinery for rope-making (see Grothe, *Leonardo da Vinci als Ingenieur und Philosoph*, Berlin, 1874) was very ingenious, as were also his stone sawing-machine, his roasting-jack, his color-grinding machine, his door-spring, and his wheelbarrow. The automatic file-cutting machine invented by Leonardo was a worthy predecessor of that which is in use to-day. This inventor of labor-saving mechanisms was also a poet, a philosopher, and a student of the classics, and yet in spite of the almost world-embracing reach of his speculations he seems to have "regarded painting as his work in life."

[6] Albert Dürer made patterns for embroidery, or, as he called them, "the six knots." They are the same pattern as in the designs made by Leonardo, or (see Dr. Richter) Dürer simply copied Leonardo's ornaments, and, omitting the inscription, added his own monogram. The decorations of the vaulted ceiling of the sacristy of Santa Maria delle Grazie resemble the meshes of a net. On this very slight connection an attempt has been made to show that relations existed between Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci. See Thausing's Dürer. For the decorations of S. Maria delle Grazie, see G. Mongeri, *L'Arte in Milano*, p. 315. Original blocks for the twisted ornaments are preserved in the print room of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Leonardo is credited with many engravings (see Clément's *Michel-Ange, Léonard de Vinci, Raphael*, p. 381), but the Marchese G. D'Adda (*Léonard de Vinci la Gravure Milanaise et Passavant*) only admits the authenticity of one engraving in the British Museum (profile of a boy), and one containing figures of horses, and belonging to Sig. Angioleni, of Milan. See also Milanesi, IV., 21, note 2.

[7] Of this academy formed by Leonardo, very little is known; but it is believed by some critics that a large part of the scattered notes on all subjects which have come down to us were lecture notes, and it is even thought that the Treatise on Painting was composed to assist in teaching, but several paragraphs on a single page refer to different subjects, and this would tend to dis-

is one, by means of which Leonardo often sought to prove to the different citizens—many of them men of great discernment—who then governed Florence, that the church of San Giovanni in that city could be raised, and steps placed beneath it without injury to the edifice: he supported his assertions with reasons so persuasive, that while he spoke the undertaking seemed feasible, although every one of his hearers, when he had departed, could see for himself that such a thing was impossible. In conversation Leonardo was indeed so pleasing that he won the hearts of all hearers, and though possessing so small a patrimony only that it might almost be called nothing, while he yet worked very little, he still constantly kept many servants and horses, taking extraordinary delight in the latter: he was indeed fond of all animals, ever treating them with infinite kindness and consideration; as a proof of this it is related, that when he passed places where birds were sold, he would frequently take them from their cages, and having paid the price demanded for them by the sellers, would then let them fly into the air, thus restoring to them the liberty they had lost.[8] Leonardo was in all things so highly favoured by nature, that to whatever

prove the theory. Dr. Richter has accomplished the difficult work of classifying these notes. Leonardo was evidently the head of the Academy, and may have been the sole professor in it. See M. Clément's *Michel-Ange, Léonard de Vinci, Raphael.* This is probably the first recorded instance of an institution of the kind. The artists were, however, usually members of a *compagnia de' pittori*, whose object was to protect art interests in general. The *Fabbrica di San Luca*, established in Rome in 1470, is an example of one of these associations. See M. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes.*

[8] It is possible that Leonardo's freeing the birds arose from another motive. Leonardo was intensely interested in their flight, and among his papers are many sketches of flying-machines and attempts to analyze aërial flight, including the motion of the wings of birds, so that it is reasonable to suppose that the birds which were released assisted him in his investigations. In the Aeronautical Annual for 1895 there is an interesting article on Leonardo's Treatise on the Flight of Birds (*Codice sul volo degli uccelli*), which has been recently published in Paris (1893). See Bibliography.

Examples are given in Dr. Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, of Leonardo's philosophical maxims, morals, polemics, speculations, studies on the life and habits of animals, fables, jests, and tales, letters and notes on books and authors.

he turned his thoughts, mind, and spirit, he gave proof in all of such admirable power and perfection, that whatever he did bore an impress of harmony, truthfulness, goodness, sweetness and grace, wherein no other man could ever equal him.

Leonardo, with his profound intelligence of art, commenced various undertakings, many of which he never completed, because it appeared to him that the hand could never give its due perfection to the object or purpose which he had in his thoughts, or beheld in his imagination ; seeing that in his mind he frequently formed the idea of some difficult enterprise, so subtle and so wonderful that, by means of hands, however excellent or able, the full reality could never be worthily executed and entirely realized. His conceptions were varied to infinity ; philosophizing over natural objects ; among others, he set himself to investigate the properties of plants, to make observations on the heavenly bodies, to follow the movements of the planets, the variations of the moon, and the course of the sun.

Having been placed then by Ser Piero in his childhood with Andrea Verrocchio,[9] as we have said, to learn the art of the painter, that master was engaged on a picture the subject of which was San Giovanni baptizing Jesus Christ ; in this Leonardo painted an angel holding some vestments ; and although he was but a youth, he completed that figure in such a manner, that the angel of Leonardo was much better than the portion executed by his master, which caused the latter never to touch colours more, so much was he displeased to find that a mere child could do more than himself.[10]

[9] The date of Leonardo's entry into Verrocchio's *bottega* is unknown. He was working there in 1476. See Milanesi, IV., 22, note 2.

[10] The story that Verrocchio was discouraged by his pupil's talent and abandoned painting is absurd, and finds its counterpart in the legend that Francia died of grief after seeing Raphael's Saint Cecilia. Leonardo was admitted to the Guild of Painters in 1472, or, as M. Clément would have us believe, in 1468, and in 1478 he had already received an independent commission from the Signoria of Florence. The painting of the angel in the Academy

Leonardo received a commission to prepare the cartoon for the hangings of a door which was to be woven in silk and gold in Flanders, thence to be despatched to the king of Portugal; the subject was the sin of our first parents in Paradise: here the artist depicted a meadow in chiaroscuro, the high lights being in white lead, displaying an immense variety of vegetation and numerous animals, respecting which it may be truly said, that for careful execution and fidelity to nature, they are such that there is no genius in the world, however God-like, which could produce similar objects with equal truth. In the fig-tree, for example, the foreshortening of the leaves, and the disposition of the branches are executed with so much care, that one finds it difficult to conceive how any man could have so much patience; there is besides a palm-tree, in which the roundness of the fan-like leaves is exhibited to such admirable perfection and with so much art, that nothing short of the genius and patience of Leonardo could have effected it: but the work for which the cartoon was prepared was never carried into execution, the drawing therefore remained in Florence, and is now in the fortunate house of the illustrious Ottaviano de' Medici, to whom it was presented, no long time since, by the uncle of Leonardo.[11]

It is related that Ser Piero da Vinci, being at his country house, was there visited by one of the peasants on his estate, who, having cut down a fig-tree on his farm, had made a shield from part of it with his own hands, and then brought

dates perhaps from 1480 to 1482. Dr. Richter, Leonardo da Vinci, p. 7, says that in the "Baptism" of Verrocchio not only the angel ascribed by Vasari to Leonardo, but the second angel, the Christ, and the background are painted in oil, a medium which Leonardo always employed, while Verrocchio invariably used *tempera*. This statement pushed to its logical conclusion gives us in the "Baptism" a work painted mainly by Leonardo da Vinci from the design of the older master. So much repainting has occurred in the case of nearly all old pictures that it is always difficult to arrive at hard-and-fast conclusions, but no one can doubt that the immense capacity of the youthful Leonardo must have struck Verrocchio and influenced but certainly not discouraged him.

[11] This cartoon is lost.

it to Ser Piero, begging that he would be pleased to cause the same to be painted for him in Florence. This the latter very willingly promised to do, the countryman having great skill in taking birds and in fishing, and being often very serviceable to Ser Piero in such matters. Having taken the shield with him to Florence therefore, without saying any thing to Leonardo as to whom it was for, he desired the latter to paint something upon it. Accordingly, he one day took it in hand, but finding it crooked, coarse, and badly made, he straightened it at the fire, and giving it to a turner, it was brought back to him smooth and delicately rounded, instead of the rude and shapeless form in which he had received it. He then covered it with gypsum, and having prepared it to his liking, he began to consider what he could paint upon it that might best and most effectually terrify whomsoever might approach it, producing the same effect with that formerly attributed to the head of Medusa. For this purpose therefore, Leonardo carried to one of his rooms, into which no one but himself ever entered, a number of lizards, hedgehogs, newts, serpents, dragon-flies, locusts, bats, glow-worms, and every other sort of strange animal of similar kind on which he could lay his hands; from this assemblage, variously adapted and joined together, he formed a hideous and appalling monster, breathing poison and flames, and surrounded by an atmosphere of fire; this he caused to issue from a dark and rifted rock, with poison reeking from the cavernous throat, flames darting from the eyes, and vapours rising from the nostrils in such sort that the result was indeed a most fearful and monstrous creature: at this he laboured until the odours arising from all those dead animals filled the room with a mortal fetor, to which the zeal of Leonardo and the love which he bore to art rendered him insensible or indifferent. When this work, which neither the countryman nor Ser Piero any longer inquired for, was completed, Leonardo went to his father and told him that he might send for the shield at his earliest convenience,

since so far as he was concerned, the work was finished; Ser Piero went accordingly one morning to the room for the shield, and having knocked at the door, Leonardo opened it to him, telling him nevertheless to wait a little without, and having returned into the room he placed the shield on the easel, and shading the window so that the light falling on the painting was somewhat dimmed, he made Ser Piero step within to look at it. But the latter, not expecting any such thing, drew back, startled at the first glance, not supposing that to be the shield, or believing the monster he beheld to be a painting, he therefore turned to rush out, but Leonardo withheld him, saying:—The shield will serve the purpose for which it has been executed, take it therefore and carry it away, for this is the effect it was designed to produce. The work seemed something more than wonderful to Ser Piero, and he highly commended the fanciful idea of Leonardo, but he afterwards silently bought from a merchant another shield, whereon there was painted a heart transfixed with an arrow, and this he gave to the countryman, who considered himself obliged to him for it to the end of his life. Some time after Ser Piero secretly sold the shield painted by Leonardo to certain merchants for one hundred ducats, and it subsequently fell into the hands of the Duke of Milan, sold to him by the same merchants for three hundred ducats.[12]

No long time after Leonardo painted an admirable picture of Our Lady,[13] which was greatly prized by Pope Clement VII.; among the accessories of this work was a bottle filled with water in which some flowers were placed, and not only were these flowers most vividly natural, but there were dewdrops on the leaves, which were so true to nature that they appeared to be the actual reality. For Antonio Segni

[12] It is hardly necessary to say that this shield is lost; it is supposed to have been painted in 1472.

[13] This was the *Vierge à la Carafe*. In the seventeenth century it was in the Vatican, but its present whereabouts is not known. The painting of the same subject in the Villa Borghese is stated by Mr. Sidney Colvin to be by Lorenzo di Credi.

who was his intimate friend, Leonardo delineated on paper a Neptune[14] in his chariot drawn by sea-horses, and depicted with so much animation that he seems to be indeed alive; the turbulent waves also, the various phantasms surrounding the chariot, with the monsters of the deep, the winds, and admirable heads of marine deities, all contribute to the beauty of the work, which was presented by Fabio Segni, the son of Antonio, to Messer Giovanni Gaddi,[15] with the following lines:

Pinxit Virgilius Neptunum, pinxit Homerus;
Dum maris undisoni per vada flectit equos.
Mente quidem vates illum conspexit uterque,
Vincius ast oculis; jureque vincit eos.

Leonardo also had a fancy to paint the head of a Medusa in oil, to which he gave a circlet of twining serpents by way of head-dress; the most strange and extravagant invention that could possibly be conceived: but as this was a work requiring time, so it happened to the Medusa as to so many other of his works, it was never finished.[16] The head here described is now among the most distinguished possessions in the palace of the Duke Cosimo, together with the half length figure of an angel raising one arm in the air; this arm, being foreshortened from the shoulder to the elbow, comes forward, while the hand of the other arm is laid on the breast.[17] It is worthy of admiration that this great gen-

[14] There is a rough sketch in black chalk for a similar subject at Windsor. See Dr. Richter, Leonardo da Vinci, p. 9.

[15] The Gaddi collection was sold, and the whereabouts of these works is unknown.

[16] The head of the Medusa in the Uffizi is not by Leonardo, and was probably painted from Vasari's description, perhaps by one of the Caracci. Dr. Mündler suggests the Milanese Lomazzo as the author of this work, and points out that it was executed by a trained hand. In the collection of drawings at Windsor and at Vienna are some charming arrangements of braided hair, which were possibly suggested by the Medusa with curls of live snakes, as described in the Odyssey. See Theodore Child's Wimples and Crisping-Pins, pp. 103-5.

[17] Milanesi, Vol. IV., p. 26, states that a picture which was sold in Florence to a Russian collector was claimed by the seller as being identical with the

ius, desiring to give the utmost possible relief to the works executed by him, laboured constantly, not content with his darkest shadows, to discover the ground tone of others still darker ; thus he sought a black that should produce a deeper shadow, and be yet darker than all other known blacks, to the end that the lights might by these means be rendered still more lucid, until he finally produced that totally dark shade, in which there is absolutely no light left, and objects have more the appearance of things seen by night, than the clearness of forms perceived by the light of day, but all this was done with the purpose of giving greater relief, and of discovering and attaining to the ultimate perfection of art.

Leonardo was so much pleased when he encountered faces of extraordinary character, or heads, beards or hair of unusual appearance, that he would follow any such, more than commonly attractive, through the whole day, until the figure of the person would become so well impressed on his mind that, having returned home, he would draw him as readily as though he stood before him.[18] Of heads thus ob-

half-length figure of an angel mentioned by Vasari. The picture was greatly repainted and its authenticity cannot be proved. There is a St. Jerome in the Vatican gallery believed to be authentic (see A. Venturi, *La Galleria Vaticana*, p. 16), which had strange adventures. Cardinal Fesch found a portion of the picture, the torso, used as a box cover, and long afterward discovered in a shoemaker's shop, the head which belonged to the torso. Pope Pius IX. eventually bought the picture, which is generally considered to be a youthful work of Leonardo.

[18] Many of Leonardo's sketches bear out this statement. Lomazzo, in his *Trattato della Pittura*, gives a curious anecdote of a supper which he himself attended. Leonardo had invited a number of peasants, whom he amused by stories until they were convulsed with laughter ; he then withdrew and produced faces so distorted and comical that no one could look at them without laughter. Milanesi, IV., p. 27, note 2, cites several engraved collections of these caricatures—one signed *Wenceslas Hollar., Boh.*, 1745 ; another signed *Jacobo Sandrart, Ratisbonæ*, 1654, as also the *recueil* engraved by *le C. de C.* (Comte de Caylus), 1730. Leonardo was fond of attending executions to watch the facial contortions of criminals in their death-throes. His interest was probably largely anatomical. In the collection of M. Léon Bonnât, at Paris, there is an interesting study of a conspirator with a rope around his neck.

Vasari makes no mention of Leonardo's remarkable military maps, six of which are in the Royal Library at Windsor. In one, representing the coun-

tained there exist many, both masculine and feminine, and I have myself several of them drawn with a pen by his own hand, in the book of drawings so frequently cited. Among these is the head of Amerigo Vespucci, which is a very beautiful one of an old man, done with charcoal, as also that of the Gypsy Captain Scaramuccia, which had been left by Gianbullari to Messer Donato Valdambrini, of Arezzo, Canon of San Lorenzo. A picture representing the Adoration of the Magi was likewise commenced by Leonardo, and is among the best of his works, more especially as regards the heads ; it was in the house of Amerigo Benci, opposite the Loggia of the Peruzzi, but like so many of the other works of Leonardo, this also remained unfinished.[19]

On the death of Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, in the year 1493, Ludovico Sforza was chosen in the same year to be his successor, when Leonardo was invited with great honour to Milan by the Duke, who delighted greatly in the music of the lute, to the end that the master might play before him ;[20] Leonardo therefore took with him a certain in-

try between Florence, Perugia, and Siena, the towns are given in such detail that Arezzo, Volterra, Siena, etc., can be easily recognized without using the text. Another is of the Apennines to the east, and of the coast about Corneto to the west. Others are of the course of the Arno, of the Pontine Marshes, the Volscian Mountains, and the environs of Imola. They were probably executed when Leonardo was acting as engineer for Cæsar Borgia in 1502.

[19] This work, which is now in the Uffizi, is considered authentic. It is painted in monochrome *tempera* (bistre) upon wood on a *gesso* or chalk ground. Milanesi considers that it is the picture commenced by Leonardo in 1481 for the monks of San Donato a Scopeto outside of Florence. Other critics think it was ordered in 1478, for the chapel of the Palazzo Vecchio. See MM. Lafenestre's and Richtenberger's *Florence*, p. 23. There has been considerable controversy regarding the date of this picture, which was never finished, and M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 669, thinks it was not begun till toward 1500. Preparatory drawings for it exist in the Louvre, the Galichon collection, and at Cologne.

A picture of the Annunciation (from Monte Oliveto), also in the Uffizi, variously attributed to Ridolfo Ghirlandajo and di Credi, is given by De Liphart and Dr. Bode to Leonardo. If by the latter master it is a youthful work. Mr. Berenson in his catalogue attributes it to Leonardo's master Andrea del Verrocchio ; see The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance, p. 130.

[20] An anonymous author (see Dr. Richter, Leonardo da Vinci, p. 12) tells us

strument which he had himself constructed almost wholly of silver, and in the shape of a horse's head,* a new and fan-

that Leonardo was sent in 1482, with Atalanto Migliorotti, to take a lute to the Duke of Milan. This Duke would have been Gian Galeazzo Sforza, not Lodovico, and the date 1482 is more probable than is Vasari's later one of 1493. By 1487 Leonardo was certainly settled in Milan. This letter first published by Amoretti is said by M. Ravaisson (see Appendix) to be not in Leonardo's own handwriting, but whether a dictation or a forgery, it must directly or indirectly have been inspired by Leonardo. Such a letter *could* only have been inspired by the self-confidence or the exploits of a Vinci. M. Clément gives 1499 as the date of this letter, but it was probably of a very much earlier time. It runs as follows:

"Most Illustrious Signor,

"Having seen and sufficiently considered the works of all those who repute themselves to be masters and inventors of instruments for war, and found that the form and operation of these works are in no way different from those in common use, I permit myself, without seeking to detract from the merit of any other, to make known to your Excellency the secrets I have discovered, at the same time offering, with fitting opportunity, and at your good pleasure, to perform all those things which, for the present, I will but briefly note below.

"1. I have a method of constructing very light and portable bridges, to be used in the pursuit of, or retreat from, the enemy, with others of a stronger sort, proof against fire or force, and easy to fix or remove. I have also means for burning and destroying those of the enemy.

"2. For the service of sieges, I am prepared to remove the water from the ditches, and to make an infinite variety of fascines, scaling-ladders, &c., with engines of other kinds proper to the purposes of a siege.

"3. If the height of the defences or the strength of the position should be such that the place cannot be effectually bombarded, I have other means, whereby any fortress may be destroyed, provided it be not founded on stone.

"4. I have also most convenient and portable bombs, proper for throwing showers of small missiles, and with the smoke thereof causing great terror to the enemy, to his imminent loss and confusion.

"5. By means of excavations made without noise, and forming tortuous and narrow ways, I have means of reaching any given.....(point ?) even though it be necessary to pass beneath ditches or under a river.

"6. I can also construct covered wagons, secure and indestructible, which, entering among the enemy, will break the strongest bodies of men; and behind these the infantry can follow in safety and without impediment.

"7. I can, if needful, also make bombs, mortars, and field-pieces of beautiful and useful shape, entirely different from those in common use.

"8. Where the use of bombs is not practicable, I can make crossbows, mangonels, balistæ, and other machines of extraordinary efficiency and quite out of

* The Italian word *teschio* should be translated skull.

ciful form calculated to give more force and sweetness to the sound. Here Leonardo surpassed all the musicians who had assembled to perform before the Duke ;[21] he was besides one of the best *improvisatori* in verse existing at that time, and the Duke, enchanted with the admirable conversation of Leonardo, was so charmed by his varied gifts that he delighted beyond measure in his society, and prevailed on him to paint an altar-piece, the subject of which was the Nativity of Christ, which was sent by the Duke as a present to the

the common way. In fine, as the circumstances of the case shall demand, I can prepare engines of offence for all purposes.

"9. In case of the conflict having to be maintained at sea, I have methods for making numerous instruments, offensive and defensive, with vessels that shall resist the force of the most powerful bombs. I can also make powders or vapours for the offence of the enemy.

"10. In time of peace, I believe that I could equal any other, as regards works in architecture. I can prepare designs for buildings, whether public or private, and also conduct water from one place to another.

"Furthermore, I can execute works in sculpture, marble, bronze, or terra-cotta. In painting also I can do what may be done, as well as any other, be he who he may.

"I can likewise undertake the execution of the bronze horse, which is a monument that will be to the perpetual glory and immortal honor of my lord your father of happy memory, and of the illustrious house of Sforza.

"And if any of the above-named things shall seem to any man to be impossible and impracticable, I am perfectly ready to make trial of them in your Excellency's park, or in whatever other place you shall be pleased to command, commending myself to you with all possible humility."

(The translation of this astonishing letter in which Leonardo quite simply and concisely offers the Arts of War and Peace, and promises to enlist them in the service of the house of Sforza, is taken from Mrs. Foster's notes.)

[21] Milanesi cites from Amoretti, p. 32, a note signed Q. R., on page 28 of the *Codex Atlanticus* in the Ambrosian Library, which shows Leonardo's interest in the invention of musical instruments. He also mentions a parchment (one of the Trivulzi collection) containing a treatise on music, by a Florentine priest; this *trattato* has a frontispiece which shows Leonardo himself with a lute (*chitarra*) in his hand. See a long description of this frontispiece, Milanesi, IV., p. 28, note 2. Certain miniatures in another Trivulzian codex are ascribed to Leonardo. Milanesi gives them to Fra Antonio da Monza. Dr. Richter suggests that an excellent reason for Leonardo's saying nothing of his music in the letter to Sforza was the fact that he was sent by Lorenzo de' Medici especially to take a lute to the Duke of Milan, and that therefore his musical proficiency needed no proclaiming.

Emperor.[22] For the Dominican monks of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan, he also painted a Last Supper, which is a most beautiful and admirable work; to the heads of the Apostles in this picture the master gave so much beauty and majesty that he was constrained to leave that of Christ unfinished,[23] being convinced that he could not impart to it the divinity which should appertain to and distinguish an image of the Redeemer. But this work, remaining thus in its unfinished state, has been ever held in the highest estimation by the Milanese, and not by them only, but by foreigners also: Leonardo succeeded to perfection in expressing the doubts and anxiety experienced by the Apostles, and the desire felt by them to know by whom their Master is to be betrayed; in the faces of all appear love, terror, anger, or grief and bewilderment, unable as they are to fathom the meaning of their Lord. Nor is the spectator less struck with admiration by the force and truth with which, on the

[22] This work has disappeared.

[23] Vasari's statement that Leonardo never finished the head of Christ is false, if taken in a literal sense. The painter carried it at least as far as he did the other heads, but he undoubtedly felt that it never was, and never could be, completed to his own perfect satisfaction. Dr. Richter believes that studies of the finished heads for the Matthew, Simon, and Judas, can be recognized in the Windsor collection, and that the study for the Christ in the Brera is genuine; its authenticity has been doubted, but from an artist's point of view the drawing must be pronounced beautiful and subtle enough to be an original and by a great master. There has been much controversy regarding ten heads of Apostles at Weimar. They are larger than are the heads in the fresco. They are in black chalk, whereas the original studies were cited by Lomazzo as in red chalk, and studies of the hands are to be seen on some of the same sheets with the heads. Thus although critics of known ability have decided in their favor, the balance of evidence seems to be against them. Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, *L'Arch. Stor. dell Arte*, VII., 41–49, thinks they may perhaps be by Solari. If so, they are a valuable contribution to the study of the picture. These Weimar heads are arranged as follows: Saints Bartholomew, James (Minor), and Andrew together side by side; St. Matthew on a separate sheet; St. Peter and Judas together; Saints John, Thomas, and James (Major) together; St. Philip alone. There are pen-and-ink sketches by Leonardo in the Louvre, which probably refer to the Last Supper. One of them is a very interestingly composed group of nudes, five in number, at a table. There are two other pen sketches at Windsor, and a red chalk study of doubtful authenticity in the Academy at Venice. See Dr. Richter's Leonardo da Vinci, pp. 28, 129.

other hand, the master has exhibited the impious determination, hatred, and treachery of Judas. The whole work indeed is executed with inexpressible diligence even in its most minute part, among other things may be mentioned the table-cloth, the texture of which is copied with such exactitude, that the linen-cloth itself could scarcely look more real.

It is related that the Prior of the Monastery was excessively importunate in pressing Leonardo to complete the picture; he could in no way comprehend wherefore the artist should sometimes remain half a day together absorbed in thought before his work, without making any progress that he could see; this seemed to him a strange waste of time, and he would fain have had him work away as he could make the men do who were digging in his garden, never laying the pencil out of his hand. Not content with seeking to hasten Leonardo, the Prior even complained to the Duke, and tormented him to such a degree that the latter was at length compelled to send for Leonardo, whom he courteously entreated to let the work be finished, assuring him nevertheless that he did so because compelled by the importunities of the Prior. Leonardo, knowing the Prince to be intelligent and judicious, determined to explain himself fully on the subject with him, although he had never chosen to do so with the Prior. He therefore discoursed with him at some length respecting art, and made it perfectly manifest to his comprehension, that men of genius are sometimes producing most when they seem to be labouring least, their minds being occupied in the elucidation of their ideas, and in the completion of those conceptions to which they afterwards give form and expression with the hand. He further informed the Duke that there were still wanting to him two heads, one of which, that of the Saviour, he could not hope to find on earth, and had not yet attained the power of presenting it to himself in imagination, with all that perfection of beauty and celestial grace which appeared to him to be demanded for the due representation

of the Divinity incarnate. The second head still wanting was that of Judas, which also caused him some anxiety, since he did not think it possible to imagine a form of feature that should properly render the countenance of a man who, after so many benefits received from his master, had possessed a heart so depraved as to be capable of betraying his Lord and the Creator of the world ; with regard to that second, however, he would make search, and, after all—if he could find no better, he need never be at any great loss, for there would always be the head of that troublesome and impertinent Prior. This made the Duke laugh with all his heart, he declared Leonardo to be completely in the right, and the poor Prior, utterly confounded, went away to drive on the digging in his garden, and left Leonardo in peace : the head of Judas was then finished so successfully, that it is indeed the true image of treachery and wickedness ; but that of the Redeemer remained, as we have said, incomplete. The admirable excellence of this picture, the beauty of its composition, and the care with which it was executed, awakened in the King of France,[24] a desire to have it removed into his own kingdom, insomuch that he made many attempts to discover architects, who might be able to secure it by defences of wood and iron, that it might be transported without injury. He was not to be deterred by any consideration of the cost that might be incurred, but the painting, being on the wall, his Majesty was compelled to forego his desire, and the Milanese retained their picture.[25]

[24] Francis I.

[25] The Last Supper was, according to Luca Pacioli, completed in 1498, but it is impossible to say when it was begun. Dr. Richter suggests that it was commenced later than 1494. From a letter of Ludovico Sforza, of June 30, 1497, it appears that the commission for the picture came both from him as Duke of Milan and from the monks of the convent.

Leonardo mixed his colors with oil, a medium which he did not yet fully understand, and his pupil, Lomazzo, tells us that already in his time "the painting was completely ruined ; " when Vasari saw it in 1566 it was covered with spots ; Bellotti repainted it in 1726, and Mazza in 1770. Carlo Amoretti said that in 1804 it could only be distinguished when viewed from a distance,

In the same refectory, and while occupied with the Last Supper, Leonardo painted the portrait of the above-named Duke Ludovico, with that of his first-born son, Maximilian: these are on the wall opposite to that of the Last Supper, and where there is a Crucifixion painted after the old manner. On the other side of the Duke is the portrait of the Duchess Beatrice, with that of Francesco, their second

all detail being destroyed when the picture was seen near at hand. The monks cut a doorway through the lower part of the fresco, and when the refectory became a barracks the French dragoons pelted the apostles' heads with stones. Since 1804 further restorations have taken place, and to-day our best knowledge of Leonardo's Last Supper as it originally existed can only be had through early copies.

These copies abound; nearly a century ago Bossi (*Il Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci*) cited some fifty of them. Many of the old copies are attributed to Marco d'Oggionno (d'Oggione, d'Uggioni), a pupil of Leonardo. There is one of these ancient copies at Ponte a Capriasca, near Lugano. Sig. G. Frizzoni (*L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1890, p. 187) suggests 1520 as its date. The very famous copy in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy, London, is said by Dr. Richter (Leonardo da Vinci, p. 26) to be probably by Gian Pietrini, also a pupil of Leonardo. In the refectory of S. Maria, with the original, is a copy by Antonio da Gessate, 1506, found in the Ospedale Maggiore, of Milan, and another by Cesare Magnis, the latter being probably of the epoch of Luini and Solari (see *L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, III., p. 410). A relief by Tullio Lombardo, in S. Maria dei Miracoli at Venice, has been recognized by Sig. G. Frizzoni (*L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, II. 134) as one of the earliest (free) copies of the *Cenacolo*. The famous engraving by Raphael Morghen (1800), generally reputed to be the best substitute for the original, was, according to Dr. Richter (Leonardo da Vinci, p. 26), not copied by Morghen from the original, but was executed in Florence from a drawing made in Milan by Teodoro Matteini, who was sent to Lombardy by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to make the study. Amoretti is sure that Matteini, finding the original too badly injured for possible transcription, based himself upon d'Oggionno's copy. Bernardino Luini, according to De Pagave, made a copy (since lost) for Louis XII., of France, and Rubens in turn copied the picture, putting much of his own manner into the rendering.

The original, in spite of the destruction done to it by time and by men, remains, says Dr. Richter, "the most perfect composition in the history of painting of all ages." The same author finds that among all the precursors who had painted the same subject, Andrea dal Castagno is the one who most influenced Leonardo. See Dr. Richter's comparison of the two artists and his descriptive analysis of the composition of the *Cenacolo* in his Leonardo da Vinci, pp. 20–25, and especially his translation, on page 29, of Leonardo's own manuscript notes regarding the Last Supper, notes which were bequeathed in 1876 by John Forster to the South Kensington Museum.

son: both of these princes were afterwards Dukes of Milan: the portraits are most admirably done.[26]

While still engaged with the paintings of the refectory, Leonardo proposed to the Duke to cast a horse in bronze of colossal size, and to place on it a figure of the Duke,[27] by way of monument to his memory: this he commenced, but finished the model on so large a scale that it never could be completed, and there were many ready to declare (for the judgments of men are various, and are sometimes rendered malignant by envy) that Leonardo had begun it, as he did others of his labours, without intending ever to finish it. The size of the work being such, insuperable difficulties presented themselves, as I have said, when it came to be cast; nay, the casting could not be effected in one piece, and it is very probable that, when this result was known, many were led to form the opinion alluded to above, from the fact that so many of Leonardo's works had failed to receive completion. But of a truth, there is good reason to believe that the very greatness of his most exalted mind, aiming at more than could be effected, was itself an impediment; perpetually seeking to add excellence to excellence, and perfection to perfection; this was, without doubt, the true hindrance, so that, as our Petrarch has it, the work was retarded by desire. All who saw the large model in clay which

[26] This Crucifixion, dated 1495, is by Giovanni Donato Montorfano. Leonardo is believed to have painted at left and right of the lower portion of this picture, the portraits of Ludovico Sforza, his wife Beatrice d'Este, two of their children, and various saints (see the curious article, with reproductions, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte* for January–April, 1895). The above-mentioned portraits have been nearly effaced by time and dampness.

There are two fine heads in the Ambrosian library which are attributed to Leonardo. This attribution is refused by Morelli, who ascribes the portrait of the woman to Ambrogio de Predis. Burckhardt (edited by Dr. Bode) enthusiastically gives this latter portrait, which has been called Bianca Maria Sforza, to Leonardo. M. Müntz agrees with this ascription, as also with the belief that it represents rather some other princess than the Sforza. M. Müntz also accepts the so-called Belle Ferronnière of the Louvre as an original Leonardo.

[27] A statue, that is, of Francesco Sforza, father of the reigning Duke, Ludovico.

Leonardo made for this work, declared that they had never seen anything more beautiful or more majestic; this model remained as he had left it until the French, with their King Louis, came to Milan, when they destroyed it totally.[28] A small model of the same work, executed in wax, and which

[28] No other artist's works have suffered from such a triple tragedy as resulted in the successive destruction of Leonardo's three masterpieces, the *Cenacolo*, the cartoon of the Battle of Anghiari, and the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza. The latter, which was the work of many years, was apparently commenced shortly after the artist's arrival in Milan, and was the subject of many sketches in the flat and in relief (wax and clay) by Leonardo. According to M. Müntz, one of the latter may be that existing in the collection of Madame Edouard Andrée, of Paris. As for the former, a sketch in the *Codex Atlanticus*, and another in the Ambrosian Library, have been suggested as possible designs for the Sforza, while Messrs. Courajod and Morelli had a long controversy regarding a pen study in the Munich collections. The latter, representing a mounted warrior trampling upon a fallen man, was by M. Courajod attributed to Da Vinci; by Morelli to Antonio del Pollajuolo. The Windsor collection of sketches contains many studies, not only for the horse and rider but for the pedestal, together with manuscript notes regarding both of the above and concerning also the casting of the statue; the latter was to have been done in three separate pieces. For interesting notes regarding bronze-casting and gun-founding see Dr. J. P. Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, II., pp. 20–24. In all of the studies except the one attributed by Morelli to Pollajuolo, and catalogued as by the latter (see Italian Masters), the horse is walking, as in the statues of Gattamelata at Padua and Colleone at Venice (see reproduction by Dr. Richter, *op. cit.*, page 35 of the sketch, which from the copious manuscript notes regarding it, he considers to have been the one adopted).

Dr. Richter believes that Leonardo took part in some quite early competition for this statue, in which Pollajuolo also probably competed, and that the statement of Sabba da Castiglione, that Leonardo devoted sixteen years to it, means only that sixteen years elapsed between the competition and the final setting up of the model. This colossal model for the statue, which if completed would have been twenty-six and a half feet high, was in ten years after its commencement sufficiently advanced to adorn the festival held at the marriage of Bianca Maria Sforza with Maximilian of Germany. The fall of Ludovico Sforza put an end to work on the statue, and although Louis XII. admired the latter greatly, his Gascon cross-bowmen are said to have made a target of it. They could hardly have destroyed it, since afterwards the Duke of Ferrara tried vainly to obtain the model for his own uses. At all events it finally disappeared, either at once or under the gradual effect of time and weather. If it had been spared, the Gattamelata of Donatello and the Colleone of Verrocchio would together with it have shown us Renaissance sculpture of the first, second, and third periods as applied to colossal equestrian statues.

was considered perfect, was also lost, with a book containing studies of the anatomy of the horse, which Leonardo had prepared for his own use. He afterwards gave his attention, and with increased earnestness, to the anatomy of the human frame, a study wherein Messer Marcantonio della Torre, an eminent philosopher, and himself, did mutually assist and encourage each other.[29] Messer Marcantonio was at that time holding lectures in Pavia, and wrote on the same subject; he was one of the first, as I have heard say, who began to apply the doctrines of Galen to the elucidation of medical science, and to diffuse light over the science of anatomy, which, up to that time, had been involved in the almost total darkness of ignorance. In this attempt Marcantonio was wonderfully aided by the genius and labour of Leonardo, who filled a book with drawings in red crayons, outlined with the pen, all copies made with the utmost care [from bodies] [30] dissected by his own hand. In this book he set forth the entire structure, arrangement, and disposition of the bones, to which he afterwards added all the nerves, in their due order, and next supplied the muscles, of which the first are affixed to the bones, the second give the power of cohesion or holding firmly, and the third impart that of motion. Of each separate part he wrote an explanation in rude characters, written backwards and with the left-hand, so that whoever is not practised in reading cannot understand them, since they are only to be read with a mirror.[31] Of

[29] Dr. Richter (Literary Works, etc., II. 105), is unable to discover any mention of della Torre in the manuscripts of Leonardo, although he thinks it not impossible that the two may have worked together. This famous anatomist, a Veronese, died when only thirty years old.

[30] At this point the original of Vasari lacks a word to make sense of his sentence, and Milanesi has suggested the words "human bodies," *corpi humani*, which the translator has intercalated.

[31] Pacioli, who was probably the first to comment upon Leonardo's reversed method of writing, mentions it in his *De Divina Proportione*, Venice, 1509, saying also that Leonardo drew with his left hand. Pacioli was accustomed to read the reversed writing by turning the paper around and looking through it. Dr. Richter is of opinion that a mirror is too fatiguing to be advisable. He also notes the fact that in almost all of Leonardo's authenticated

these anatomical drawings of the human form,[32] a great part is now in the possession of Messer Francesco da Melzo,[33] a Milanese gentleman, who, in the time of Leonardo, was a child of remarkable beauty, much beloved by him, and is now a handsome and amiable old man, who sets great store by these drawings, and treasures them as relics, together with the portrait of Leonardo of blessed memory.[34] To all who read these writings it must appear almost incredible that this sublime genius could, at the same time, discourse, as he has done, of art, and of the muscles, nerves, veins, and every other part of the frame, all treated with equal diligence and success. There are, besides, certain other writings of Leonardo, also written with the left-hand, in the possession of N. N.,* a painter of Milan; they treat of painting, of design generally, and of colouring.[35] This artist came to see me in Florence no long time since; he then had an intention of publishing this work, and took it with him to Rome, there to give this purpose effect, but what was the end of the matter I do not know.

drawings, wherever they are shaded, the strokes lie downward (from left to right), as if they were drawn with the left hand. It has been suggested that Leonardo adopted this peculiar form of writing to make the publication of the notes difficult. Leonardo, however, wished to have his writings known and read, though not of course in the form in which they have come down to us, and his writing backward was begun when he was a young man. The orthography of Leonardo was also peculiar, and he used many abbreviations; occasionally he wrote in the ordinary way.

* The name of the painter is omitted in the original work of Vasari. It was probably Aurelio Luini.

[32] Many of the anatomical studies are in England. Leonardo's manuscript treatise on the anatomy of the horse exists in part in the Queen's Library at Windsor. Some of his other anatomical drawings have been preserved and are far superior to the engravings in the scientific books of the time. The celebrated surgeon, William Hunter, said, "I am fully persuaded that Leonardo was the best anatomist at that time in the world." Blumenbach also esteemed the drawings highly.

[33] Melzi was also a pupil of Leonardo, painting well though not frequently. A colossal Madonna in fresco, at Vaprio, a palace of the Melzi family, is attributed to him.

[34] The latest modern criticism is disposed to accept the drawing in the Royal Library at Turin as the only authentic and original portrait of Leonardo.

[35] See Bibliography.

But to return to the labours of Leonardo. During his time the King of France came to Milan,[36] whereupon he (Leonardo) was entreated to prepare something very extraordinary for his reception. He therefore constructed a lion, and this figure, after having made a few steps, opened its breast, which was discovered to be entirely filled full of lilies. While in Milan, Leonardo took the Milanese Salai[37] for his disciple; this was a youth of singular grace and beauty of person, with curled and waving hair, a feature of personal beauty by which Leonardo was always greatly pleased. This Salai he instructed in various matters relating to art, and certain works still in Milan, and said to be by Salai, were retouched by Leonardo himself.

Having returned to Florence[38] he found that the Servite Monks had commissioned Filippino to paint the altar-piece for the principal chapel in their church of the Nunziata, when he declared that he would himself very willingly have undertaken such a work. This being repeated to Filippino, he, like the amiable man that he was, withdrew himself at once, when the Monks gave the picture to Leonardo. And to the end that he might make progress with it, they took him into their own abode with all his household, supplying the expenses of the whole, and so he kept them attending on him for a long time, but did not make any commencement; at length, however, he prepared a cartoon, with the Madonna, Sant' Anna, and the infant Christ, so admirably depicted that it not only caused astonishment in every artist who saw it, but, when finished, the chamber wherein it stood was crowded for two days by men and women, old and

[36] According to Lomazzo this was Francis I. He came to Milan in 1515.

[37] Salaino rather; he was both scholar and servant of Leonardo. Several of his pictures are in the Brera gallery.

[38] In the year 1499, when Ludovico Sforza lost his duchy, Leonardo, after visiting Mantua and Venice, returned to Florence with the mathematician Fra Luca Pacioli, and there made the designs for the treatise *De Divina Proportione*. Pacioli lived in Milan from 1496 to 1499 on terms of intimacy with Leonardo da Vinci, and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest that Leonardo may have obtained some of his scientific knowledge from Piero della Francesca through Pacioli; see their History of Painting in Italy, II. 527.

young; a concourse, in short, such as one sees flocking to the most solemn festivals, all hastening to behold the wonders produced by Leonardo, and which awakened amazement in the whole people. Nor was this without good cause, seeing that in the countenance of that Virgin there is all the simplicity and loveliness which can be conceived as giving grace and beauty to the Mother of Christ, the artist proposing to show in her the modesty and humility of the virgin, filled with joy and gladness as she contemplates the beauty of her Son, whom she is tenderly supporting in her lap. And while Our Lady, with eyes modestly bent down, is looking at a little San Giovanni, who is playing with a lamb, Sant' Anna, at the summit of delight, is observing the group with a smile of happiness, rejoicing as she sees that her terrestrial progeny have become divine; all which is entirely worthy of the mind and genius of Leonardo:[39] this cartoon was subsequently taken to France, as will be related hereafter.[40] Leonardo then painted the por-

[39] M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 796, considers that this cartoon is identical with the St. Anne of the Louvre, and that the cartoon in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy, London, is an earlier study with variations for this same cartoon. Other critics, among them Dr. Richter, consider the London example to be the work mentioned by Vasari. Evidently both compositions are sufficiently similar to refer to the text of the author; see note 52 and also "a Cartoon by Leonardo" in the Magazine of Art, VII., p. 448. Mr. Bernard Berenson, in his Florentine Painters of the Renaissance (New York, 1896), catalogues the St. Anne of the Louvre as "in part" by Leonardo, and ascribes the London cartoon to him unqualifiedly. Mr. Berenson, whose essay upon da Vinci is admirable though short, attributes to the painter the Annunciation in the Louvre numbered 1,265, and in Rome a portrait of a girl (Donna Laura Minghetti). He also adds to his list of attributions, though this time with a question mark, the wax head of a Girl in Lille, see Verrocchio's Life.

[40] The *Vierge aux Rochers* (not mentioned by Vasari) "marks an epoch in the annals of Florentine art. Here Leonardo has broken with the traditional hardness and dryness of contemporaneous easel pictures." The Louvre and the National Gallery both possess examples of this picture, and there has been almost unending controversy as to which of the two is by the hand of Leonardo. The balance of criticism is in favor of the one in the Louvre, which is harder in outline and more severe in character than the other. Both pictures have a pedigree; that of the Louvre has come down from the epoch and collections of Francis I.; the one in the National Gallery is proved by Sig. Emilio Motta (*Ambrogio Preda e Leonardo da Vinci*) to have stood at one

trait of Ginevra, the wife of Amerigo Benci,[41] a most beautiful thing, and abandoned the commission entrusted to him by the Servite Monks who once more confided it to Filippino, but neither could the last-named master complete it, because his death supervened before he had time to do so.[42]

For Francesco del Giocondo, Leonardo undertook to paint the portrait of Mona Lisa, his wife, but, after loitering over it for four years, he finally left it unfinished. This work is now in the possession of King Francis of France, and is at Fontainebleau.[43] Whoever shall desire to

time in the church of San Francesco at Milan. Sig. Frizzoni believes that the picture in the National Gallery is a *replica*, made to stand in the church and take the place of the original after the latter had been removed and sent to France. Some German critics—Passavant, Waagen, Müller-Walde—have doubted the genuineness of the *Vierge aux Rochers*, but Herr Müller-Walde now appears to agree with M. Müntz that the picture antedates Leonardo's departure (from Florence) for Milan. The latter critic says that in the *Rochers* picture, when it is compared with the *Cena* or the *Sant' Anna*, Leonardo seems a primitive master and "almost his own precursor" (*quasi precursore di se stesso*). M. Müntz agrees with M. Anatole Gruyer that the work in the National Gallery was painted under the direction of Leonardo, and that it is *grazioso*, while the one in the Louvre is hard and severe (*duro d'aspetto e di tono aspro*). Dr. Richter (see his Italian Art in the National Gallery) compares the two pictures of the *Vierge aux Rochers*. The evidence seems to him to be in favor of the authenticity of the one in the Louvre. The picture bought by Lord Suffolk was undoubtedly (see Motta as noted above) that cited by Lomazzo as an original da Vinci and as located at the end of the sixteenth century in the church of San Francesco at Milan. It was bought as a copy, in 1796, by the painter Hamilton. See also Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1884, p. 230. The two fine angels which stood at the sides of the National Gallery picture when it was in San Francesco at Milan passed into the collection of the Duca Melzi in that city.

[41] Nothing is proved regarding the whereabouts of the Ginevra; for controversial details see Milanesi, Vol. IV., p. 39, note 2; also *Die Graphischen Künste*, Vol. XV., 1892, in which Dr. Bode, agreeing to the attribution to the youthful Leonardo of a portrait of a young girl in the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna, thinks it may be the Ginevra de' Benci. Sig. Gustavo Uzielli, in his *Leonardo da Vinci e tre gentildonne del Secolo XV.* (published at Pinerolo in 1890), treats of Beatrice d'Este, Cecilia Gallerani, and Lucrezia Crivelli.

[42] It was completed by Pietro Perugino, see the life of that painter.

[43] Probably the most famous portrait in the world is that called the Mona Lisa (Madonna Lisa) and also La Gioconda of Leonardo da Vinci. It is in the Louvre, and is the portrait of Lisa di Anton Maria di Noldo Gherardini,

see how far art can imitate nature, may do so to perfection in this head, wherein every peculiarity that could be depicted by the utmost subtlety of the pencil has been faithfully reproduced. The eyes have the lustrous brightness and moisture which is seen in life, and around them are those pale, red, and slightly livid circles, also proper to nature, with the lashes, which can only be copied, as these are, with the greatest difficulty; the eyebrows also are represented with the closest exactitude, where fuller and where more thinly set, with the separate hairs delineated as they issue from the skin, every turn being followed, and all the pores exhibited in a manner that could not be more natural than it is: the nose, with its beautiful and delicately roseate nostrils, might be easily believed to be alive; the mouth, admirable in its outline, has the lips uniting the rose-tints of their colour with that of the face, in the utmost perfection, and the carnation of the cheek does not appear to be painted, but truly of flesh and blood: he who looks earnestly at the pit of the throat cannot but believe that he sees the beating of the pulses, and it may be truly said that this work is painted in a manner well calculated to make the boldest master tremble, and astonishes all who behold it, however well accustomed to the marvels of art. Mona Lisa

married in 1495, as third wife of Francesco di Bartolommeo di Zanobi del Giocondo. Leonardo is said to have worked upon this picture four years (1500 to 1504). Evidently he found in the Gioconda exactly that type which was most sympathetic and interesting to him, for the Lisa is the incarnation of the Leonardesque smile, a smile of eyes and mouth, and first set upon canvas in all its subtlety by Leonardo after other painters had been content to make a portrait simply grave and lifelike, that is to say, to record the abiding where Leonardo strove to perpetuate the evanescent. We must not forget, however, that though this is a supersubtle rendering of it, the Leonardesque smile, which meets us throughout the north of Italy upon the canvases of a whole school, is found also upon the features of the statue of David, sculptured by Leonardo's master, Verrocchio. The portrait in the Pitti Gallery, of Florence, called *La Monaca*, has been endlessly discussed. Dr. Bode attributes it to Franciabigio, Morelli to Perugino. Sig. Enrico Ridolfi (*L'Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1891, p. 440) declares that none of the recent attributions are well founded, and retains the attribution to Leonardo until some real proof to the contrary is advanced.

was exceedingly beautiful, and while Leonardo was painting her portrait, he took the precaution of keeping some one constantly near her, to sing or play on instruments, or to jest and otherwise amuse her, to the end that she might continue cheerful, and so that her face might not exhibit the melancholy expression often imparted by painters to the likenesses they take. In this portrait of Leonardo's, on the contrary, there is so pleasing an expression, and a smile so sweet, that while looking at it one thinks it rather divine than human, and it has ever been esteemed a wonderful work, since life itself could exhibit no other appearance.

The excellent productions of this divine artist [44] had so greatly increased and extended his fame, that all men who delighted in the arts (nay, the whole city of Florence) were anxious that he should leave behind him some memorial of himself, and there was much discussion everywhere in respect to some great and important work to be executed by him, to the end that the commonwealth might have the glory, and the city the ornament, imparted by the genius, grace, and judgment of Leonardo, to all that he did. At that time the great Hall of the council had been constructed anew, the architecture being after designs by Giuliano da San Gallo, Simone Pollaiuoli, called Cronaca, Michelagnolo

[44] Dr. Richter believes (see Leonardo da Vinci, p. 71) that a relief of two naked youths in the Palazzo Communale of Pistoja, dated 1494, bears the stamp of Leonardo's style, and thinks he had a share in the design, perhaps in the execution. The author feels that intrigue and jealousy on the part of other artists had much to do with Leonardo's receiving so little encouragement to remain in Florence and Rome. Dr. Richter is probably right, and would no doubt willingly add that Leonardo's impatient spirit of inquiry conduced to his material unsuccess, for materially we must admit that he was far less successful than he deserved to be. Cæsar Borgia, as may be seen from his orders to his lieutenants, seems to have valued his great engineer highly, but his service was short. Both Leonardo's ducal patrons, Valentinois and Sforza, failed utterly, and if Ludovico Sforza at Loches was a prisoner, Leonardo at Amboise must have sometimes felt like an exile, in spite of the favor of King Francis, for no laurels of Milan or of France ever seemed quite so green to a Tuscan as those which grew by the Arno. It is poetical justice that the nation which has been most progressive in the modern arts should have harbored Leonardo, and should have the largest present material inheritance of the works of this most advanced of all the sons of Florence.

Buonarroti, and Baccio d' Agnolo, as will be related in the proper place. The building having been completed with great rapidity, as was determined between the Gonfaloniere and the more distinguished citizens, it was then commanded by public decree that Leonardo should depict some fine work therein. The said hall was entrusted, accordingly, to that master by Piero Soderini, then Gonfaloniere of Justice, and he, very willing to undertake the work, commenced a cartoon[45] in the very hall of the Pope, an apartment so called, in Santa Maria Novella. Herein he represented the History of Niccolò Piccinino, Captain-General to the Duke Filippo of Milan, in which he depicted a troop of horsemen fighting around a standard, and struggling for the possession thereof. This painting was considered to be a most excellent one,

[45] Several so-called copies of the cartoon exist. One, a painting, registered in an inventory of 1635, as by Leonardo himself. Milanesi, who discovered it in the Guardaroba, does not believe in its authenticity. A second is an engraving made in 1558. Another is an engraving by Edelinck from a very free rendering by Rubens. These all differ, as do still others which are claimed as copies. Manuscript notes by Leonardo referring to the painting of battles still exist.

This short-lived cartoon was one of the epoch-making works of the Renaissance, and divided with Michelangelo's battle of Pisa the attention of all Florence. The great hall of the Five Hundred was to have been adorned by these two works, but the Republican spirit, which inspired and hastened the building of the hall and dictated the subjects of the cartoons, was wholly hateful to the Medici princes, who, shortly after the *Sala* was built, returned to Florence and ruled it. Both the paintings and the drawings of Leonardo and Michelangelo disappeared, and the hall was completely altered and painted with subjects referring to the reigning family. How much this anti-republican feeling of the Medici may have had to do with so complete a disappearance of all souvenirs of Soderini's government will never be known.

Leonardo, as usual, seems to have tried a new medium (encaustic) in the execution of the cartoon, and to have regretted his experiment. It was painted 1503 to 1505, and in 1513 enough of it was still existing to be worth protecting, since certain moneys were spent by the city at that time for its preservation from injury at the hands of visitors to the palace. In May, 1506, Leonardo was called to Milan by Charles d'Amboise, the governor of that city for King Louis XII., and went there with the permission of the Signory for absence during a fixed period of time. Later this leave of absence was extended by special request of the King, and afterward we hear nothing further of the cartoon or painting in the Palazzo Publico. See Milanesi, IV., 43–45, note, for copious details regarding the contracts, permissions, etc.

evincing great mastery in the admirable qualities of the composition, as well as in the power with which the whole work is treated. Among other peculiarities of this scene, it is to be remarked that not only are rage, disdain, and the desire for revenge apparent in the men, but in the horses also; two of these animals, with their fore-legs intertwined, are attacking each other with their teeth, no less fiercely than do the cavaliers who are fighting for the standard. One of the combatants has seized the object of their strife with both hands, and is urging his horse to its speed, while he, lending the whole weight of his person to the effort, clings with his utmost strength to the shaft of the banner, and strives to tear it by main force from the hands of four others, who are all labouring to defend it with uplifted swords, which each brandishes in the attempt to divide the shaft with one of his hands, while he grasps the cause of contention with the other. An old soldier, with a red cap on his head, has also seized the standard with one hand, and raising a curved scimitar in the other, is uttering cries of rage, and fiercely dealing a blow, by which he is endeavouring to cut off the hands of two of his opponents, who, grinding their teeth, are struggling in an attitude of fixed determination to defend their banner. On the earth, among the feet of the horses, are two other figures foreshortened, who are obstinately fighting in that position; one has been hurled to the ground, while the other has thrown himself upon him, and, raising his arm to its utmost height, is bringing down his dagger with all his force to the throat of his enemy; the latter, meanwhile, struggling mightily with arms and feet, is defending himself from the impending death.[46] It would be scarcely possible adequately to describe the skill shown by Leonardo in this work, or to do justice to the beauty of design with which he has depicted the warlike habiliments of the soldiers, with their helmets, crests, and other ornaments, infinitely varied as they are; or the wonderful mastery he exhibits in the forms and move-

[46] Vasari describes only a part of the cartoon, the Battle for the Standard.

ments of the horses ; these animals were, indeed, more admirably treated by Leonardo than by any other master ; the muscular development, the animation of their movements, and their exquisite beauty, are rendered with the utmost fidelity.

It is said that, for the execution of this cartoon, Leonardo caused a most elaborate scaffolding to be constructed, which could be increased in height by being drawn together, or rendered wider by being lowered : it was his intention to paint the picture in oil, on the wall, but he made a composition for the intonaco, or ground, which was so coarse that, after he had painted for a certain time, the work began to sink in such a manner as to induce Leonardo very shortly to abandon it altogether, since he saw that it was becoming spoiled.

Leonardo da Vinci was a man of very high spirit, and was very generous in all his actions : it is related of him that, having once gone to the bank to receive the salary which Piero Soderini caused to be paid to him every month, the cashier was about to give him certain paper packets of pence, but Leonardo refused to receive them, remarking, at the same time, "I am no penny-painter." Not completing the picture, he was charged with having deceived Piero Soderini, and was reproached accordingly ; when Leonardo so wrought with his friends, that they collected the sums which he had received and took the money to Piero Soderini with offers of restoration, but Piero would not accept them.

On the exaltation of Pope Leo X. to the chair of St. Peter,[47] Leonardo accompanied the Duke Giuliano de' Medici to Rome : [48] the Pontiff was much inclined to philosophical inquiry, and was more especially addicted to the study of alchemy : Leonardo, therefore, having composed a kind

[47] Vasari here leaps from 1504 to 1514 ; during that time Leonardo travelled between Florence and Milan, and was busy with hydraulic works in the latter city. In 1502 he had letters-patent from Cæsar Borgia, as his engineer and architect, and made important maps, which are referred to in note 18.

[48] The disordered condition of Lombardy put an end to all artistic work for the time being, and was the cause of Leonardo's leaving the north and going to Rome.

of paste from wax, made of this, while it was still in its half-liquid state, certain figures of animals, entirely hollow and exceedingly slight in texture, which he then filled with air. When he blew into these figures he could make them fly through the air, but when the air within had escaped from them they fell to the earth. One day the vine-dresser of the Belvedere found a very curious lizard, and for this creature Leonardo constructed wings, made from the skins of other lizards, flayed for the purpose ; into these wings he put quicksilver, so that when the animal walked, the wings moved also, with a tremulous motion : he then made eyes, horns, and a beard for the creature, which he tamed and kept in a case ; he would then show it to the friends who came to visit him, and all who saw it ran away terrified. He more than once, likewise, caused the intestines of a sheep to be cleansed and scraped until they were brought into such a state of tenuity that they could be held within the hollow of the hand, having then placed in a neighbouring chamber a pair of blacksmith's bellows, to which he had made fast one end of the intestines, he would blow into them until he caused them to fill the whole room, which was a very large one, insomuch that whoever might be therein was compelled to take refuge in a corner : he thus showed them transparent and full of wind, remarking that, whereas they had previously been contained within a small compass, they were now filling all space, and this, he would say, was a fit emblem of talent or genius. He made numbers of these follies in various kinds, occupied himself much with mirrors and optical instruments, and made the most singular experiments in seeking oils for painting, and varnishes to preserve the work when executed. About this time he painted a small picture for Messer Baldassare Turini, of Pescia, who was Datary to Pope Leo : the subject of this work was Our Lady, with the Child in her arms, and it was executed by Leonardo with infinite care and art, but whether from the carelessness of those who prepared the ground, or because of its peculiar and fanciful mixtures for colours, varnishes,

&c., it is now much deteriorated. In another small picture he painted a little Child, which is graceful and beautiful to a miracle. These paintings are both in Pescia, in the possession of Messer Giulio Turini.[49] It is related that Leonardo, having received a commission for a certain picture from Pope Leo, immediately began to distil oils and herbs for the varnish, whereupon the pontiff remarked, "Alas! the while, this man will assuredly do nothing at all, since he is thinking of the end before he has made a beginning to his work."[50] There was perpetual discord between Michelagnolo Buonarroti and Leonardo,[51] and the competition between them caused Michelagnolo to leave Florence, the Duke Giuliano framing an excuse for him, the pretext for his departure being that he was summoned to Rome by the Pope for the Façade of San Lorenzo. When Leonardo heard of this, he also departed and went to France, where the king, already possessing several of his works, was most kindly disposed towards him, and wished him to paint the cartoon of Sant' Anna, but Leonardo, according to his

[49] Both of these works are believed to be lost. Milanesi, IV. 47, note 1, refers one of them hypothetically to the gallery of Düsseldorf. Dr. Bode claims for Leonardo, in the gallery of Berlin, a Christ arising from the Tomb, with Saints Lucy and Leonard kneeling at either side. The *Vierge à l'Oeillet* (Munich) is attributed by the Baron H. von Geymüller to Leonardo; other critics dispute him. See *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., p. 66.

[50] It is suggested that the picture painted for Leo X. may be the Holy Family at the Hermitage. The St. Catherine in this picture is said to be a portrait of the sister-in-law of Leo X. M. Clément does not believe that the work is by Leonardo, nor does Morelli admit it. The Madonna in Sant' Onofrio at Rome is no longer ascribed to Leonardo; M. Marcel Reymond attributes it to Cesare da Sesto. It is usually, however, accredited to Boltraffio.

[51] The anonymous biographer of Leonardo tells an anecdote of a wordy encounter in Florence. Leonardo, accompanied by G. de Gavina, met a party of notables who were discussing a passage of Dante. They asked Leonardo to explain the passage. As Michelangelo was also present Leonardo said, "Michelangelo will be able to tell what it means." The great sculptor replied: "Nay, do thou explain it thyself, horse-modeller that thou art, who, unable to cast a statue in bronze wast forced by shame to give up the attempt." He then turned his back on the assembly and departed. This is one of a series of similar anecdotes told of Michelangelo, who though he could be generous enough at times seems often to have given free rein to his personal dislikes.

custom, kept the king[52] a long time waiting with nothing better than words. Finally, having become old, he lay sick for many months, and, finding himself near death, wrought diligently to make himself acquainted with the Catholic ritual, and with the good and holy path of the Christian religion:[53] he then confessed with great penitence and many tears, and although he could not support himself on his feet, yet, being sustained in the arms of his servants and friends, he devoutly received the Holy Sacrament, while thus out of his bed. The king, who was accustomed frequently and affectionately to visit him, came immediately afterwards to his room, and he, causing himself out of reverence to be raised up, sat in his bed describing his malady and the different circumstances connected with it, lamenting, besides, that he had offended God and man, inasmuch as that he had not laboured in art as he ought to have done. He was then seized with a violent paroxysm, the forerunner of death, when the king, rising and supporting his head to give him such assistance and do him such favour as he could, in the hope of alleviating his sufferings, the spirit of Leonardo, which was most divine, conscious that he could attain to no greater honour, departed in the arms of the monarch,[54] being at that time in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

[52] Dr. Richter (Leonardo da Vinci, p. 100), says of the St. Anne in the Louvre that it is authentic. It is alluded to in a sixteenth-century sonnet by Girolamo Casio de' Medici and by Giovio in his biography of Leonardo, who says that Francis I. bought the picture. There is no record of it among the inventories of the king's property, and it must have returned to Italy since Richelieu purchased it in 1629 in Lombardy. Dr. Richter thinks that the fact that it was often copied by Milanese contemporaries of Leonardo shows that it could not have been painted in France as has been asserted. See note 39 for the cartoon of a St. Anne existing in London. The critic classes the St. John in the Louvre as also a genuine work of Leonardo.

[53] Scientific investigators were apt to be looked upon as possibly heretical, but Leonardo in his last will recommended his soul "to our Lord Almighty God and to the Glorious Virgin Mary, to our Lord Saint Michael, to all the blessed Angels and Saints, male and female, in Paradise," besides ordering masses to be said for the repose of his soul.

[54] The story that Leonardo died in the arms of the king is evidently false.

The death of Leonardo caused great sorrow to all who had known him, nor was there ever an artist who did more honour to the art of painting. The radiance of his countenance, which was splendidly beautiful, brought cheerfulness to the heart of the most melancholy, and the power of his word could move the most obstinate to say, "No," or "Yes," as he desired; he possessed so great a degree of physical strength, that he was capable of restraining the most impetuous violence, and was able to bend one of the iron rings used for the knockers of doors, or a horse-shoe, as if it were lead: with the generous liberality of his nature, he extended shelter and hospitality to every friend, rich or poor, provided only that he were distinguished by talent or excellence; the poorest and most insignificant abode was rendered beautiful and honourable by his works; and as the city of Florence received a great gift in the birth of Leonardo, so did it suffer a more than grievous loss at his death. To the art of painting in oil this master contributed the discovery of a certain mode of deepening the shadows, whereby the later artists have been enabled to give great force and relief to their figures. His abilities in statuary were proved by three figures in bronze, which are over the north door of San Gio-

According to the journal of Francis I., still in the National Library at Paris, the king and court were at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, on May 2, 1519, when Leonardo died at Cloux, near Amboise, in Touraine. The letter written by Francesco Melzi to Leonardo's relations, immediately after his death, makes no mention of the presence of the king. H. Herluison, in his *Actes d'État civil d'Artistes français*, gives the burial record from the archives of the Royal Chapel at Amboise: "*Fut inhumé dans le cloistre de cette église Mr. Lionard de Vincy, nosble Millanois, 1er peintre et ingénieur et architecte du Roy, meschasnischien d'éstat et anchien directeur de peinture du duc de Milan. Ce fut faict le dovce jour d'aoust*, 1519." Apparently Leonardo was buried in the choir of the church of Saint Florentin. Tradition says that after the conspiracy of Amboise the tombs and coffins in the church were destroyed. M. Houssaye, in 1863, made excavations upon the place where the tomb was supposed to have been and found a skeleton, and close by it fragments of stone inscribed as follows: *Leo—inc—Leo—dus—Vinc—*. Milanesi states the above. In 1891 we saw, in the chapelle St. Hubert—the chapel of the Château d'Amboise—a tombal slab which covered the place where the skeleton discovered in the church has been finally deposited, but nothing really satisfactory seems to be proved in the matter, and no authoritative statement can be made.

vanni; they were cast by Gio. Francesco Rustici, but conducted under the advice of Leonardo, and are, without doubt, the most beautiful castings that have been seen in these later days, whether for design or finish.[55]

We are indebted to Leonardo for a work on the anatomy of the horse, and for another much more valuable, on that of man; wherefore, for the many admirable qualities with which he was so richly endowed, although he laboured much more by his word than in fact and by deed, his name and fame can never be extinguished.[56][57] For all these things Mes-

[55] Still in place.

[56] For Leonardo's architectural works see Dr. J. P. Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, II., 25–104, and Baron Henry von Geymüller, *Les Projets primitifs pour la Basilique de St. Pierre de Rome*. Baron Geymüller has arranged and elucidated the texts under the heads which have been adopted in Dr. Richter's work. No building is known with certainty to have been planned and executed by Leonardo, but his drawings and writings lead one to infer that he was more than an amateur. Leonardo seems to have had in mind a project for writing a complete treatise on architecture, but the isolated notes which have come down to us appear to relate only to certain problems in which he took an interest. Baron Geymüller thinks that several of the important buildings of Lombardy, which were built from 1472 to 1499, by unknown architects, are of such great merit that it is not improbable that either Leonardo or Bramante may have been concerned in their construction. Leonardo's architectural designs consist of plans of towns, devices for moving houses, plans of villas, castles, *loggie*, fountains, domed buildings, churches (both in the form of the Greek and Latin cross), a mausoleum, palaces, fortified buildings, stables, and scaffolds. Many of his studies on the details of architecture would be to-day called studies on the "strength of materials."

[57] Vasari was evidently ignorant of Leonardo's Eastern travels. Professor Colvin, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, states that according to recent investigations of Leonardo's MSS. it is certain that he took services as engineer with the Sultan of Babylon, which in the strange geographical nomenclature of those days meant Cairo. He is supposed to have visited Egypt, Cyprus, the coasts of Asia Minor, and Constantinople. The probable date of these travels in the Levant is between 1480 and 1483–84. Professor Colvin suggests that in the East he may have acquired the mode of writing backward, but Leonardo appears to have had this habit at an earlier date. The very remarkable letters to the Defterdar of Syria are published by Dr. Richter (Literary Works, etc., II., 385 and following). In these letters Leonardo speaks of having stayed in the mountains of Armenia. Dr. Richter (II., 382) feels convinced of the authenticity of these letters, and regards Leonardo's travels in the East as an established fact. M. Müntz, in his articles upon the propaganda of the Renaissance in the East during the fifteenth century (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Third Period,

ser Gio. Batista Strozzi has spoken to his praise in the following words :—

Vince costui pur solo
Tutti altri, e vince Fidia, e vince Apelle,
E tutto il lor vittorioso stuolo. [58] [59]

VIII., 274 *et seq.*), thinks that it is doubtful whether these letters are records of Leonardo's travels, and are not rather copies made by him of the letters of some other traveller. Such a theory would not conflict with the authenticity of the letters as the handiwork of Leonardo, but would do away with the travels. Signor Uzielli, in his *Leonardo da Vinci e le Alpi*, gives a curious study upon Leonardo's excursions and believes that he may have ascended Monte Rosa.

[58] Among the scholars of Leonardo were Antonio Beltraffio, Marco d' Oggionno, Salai or Salaino, and Cesare da Sesto. He had a great influence over a large number of painters who cannot be called his pupils, as Sodoma, Andrea Solario, and Bernardino Luini.

[59] With Leonardo da Vinci we reach the culmination of art. All the painters that preceded him are admirable in relation to their period, each one by some quality makes a step upward. But with Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo we attain the period of achievement, and stand upon the summit. They take their place with the undisputed masters of masters—with Titian, Correggio, and Dürer, Rembrandt, and Velasquez. Of these painters, by nature of his art, as well as by the date of his birth, Leonardo is the earliest. Technically he is still, if we consider his early work, a primitive master, at least far more so than are the other four greatest exponents of the culmination—Michelangelo, Raphael, Correggio, Titian. His drawing is close, careful, brimful of style, but aiming at subtlety rather than at breadth of handling; in his St. Anne and his *Vierge aux Rochers* it is even hard. It is however so true and above all so perfectly and completely expressive, that his contemporaries (Michelangelo and Raphael really postdate him) were left hopelessly far behind him. Compare one of his most important drawings with the best of Botticelli's, Ghirlandajo's, Perugino's, Signorelli's, and we see that Leonardo's work although done with enormous expenditure of care and thought is done *easily*, that is to say, without strain. In composition Leonardo as the painter of the *Cenacolo* is unsurpassed. Raphael performed more varied feats of composition but did nothing *better*. His color, as far as the misfortunes incident to the new media which he essayed will permit us to know it, is suave and silvery, it would have pleased Andrea del Sarto; perhaps at its best it might have inspired something in Correggio's cooler gamut of color, but it could never have satisfied a Venetian. What did inspire a Venetian, and that one of the greatest, Giorgione, what did inspire Correggio and Fra Bartolommeo was Leonardo's wonderful gift of chiaroscuro, his capture of the light, the feat by which he truly became what Symonds has called him, "the enchanter and wizard of the Renaissance." Widespread as the Leonardesque type of face became in the hands of his many pupils, and of

Sodoma and Luini, Leonardo's chiaroscuro made his an incalculably further reaching influence. Not that Correggio and Giorgione imitated him, they simply developed the new wonder that had come to the arts. The light and shade, skilfully and even nobly handled by Piero della Francesca and Mantegna, had been made witching and mysterious and lovely by Leonardo. By subtle shapes and subtle colors and subtlest lights and shadows, he evolved a new spirituality in art. Every step forward which was made in the Renaissance was by the law that governs all progress achieved at the cost of something left behind. Fra Bartolommeo's concentration upon the problems of monumental composition left him little time for that study of the shapes of things which results in close modelling. By the same forfeiture, Leonardo's gift of chiaroscuro cost the color-life of many a noble picture, for to find the light he had to create the shadows, and through imperfection of the pigments, and that lamp-black which Vasari deplores, these shadows have grown darker and darker, until certain world-famous pictures of Raphael, Bartolommeo, and many other masters, have forever lost the power of giving any pleasure by their color, whereas those quattrocentists who never became chiaroscurists left clear, bright panels that have only mellowed by time. Still it may be said, in parenthesis, that we must not impute this relative blackness to chiaroscuro pure and simple. The natural colorists, following in in the footsteps of Leonardo, achieved light and shade without blackness. There is no blackness in the Antiope of Correggio, or in the Knight of Malta of the Uffizi, nor in Titian's Tobias of San Marziale at Venice. Leonardo was a tonist, not a colorist; he experimented with light as with everything else; he revealed God's subtle handiwork in man as no artist had done before him, man's passions in the blood-stirring movement of the battle of Anghiari, and in the quieter but more poignant drama of the Last Supper; but he turned aside also to God's handiwork in the wind and tides, the birds and the beasts; everything that he saw awakened in him that curiosity which was the dominant spirit of the Renaissance, that thirst of discovery, that dauntless belief in man's intellectual potentialities which he incarnated as has no one before or after him in the whole course of what we call modern history. In reading the list of subjects which he studied, and upon which he left long treatises, one is appalled by the consideration of the mere condition of time as applied to his achievement. Writers tell us that he considered painting his real work in life; it is true that he seems to have felt it to be such, and he made an epoch in the history of art, but his actual paintings were few, for a man who had the whole book of nature open before him as the subject of his commentary could but leave a miniature here and there at most. His art was only the rubrication that made the text fairer to look at. He passes beyond art and stands upon the very edge of infinity, face to face with the insoluble and yet forever questioning. He is man projected for centuries beyond Raphael and Michelangelo and Titian. He hints at more than we even yet know. In all the race it is perhaps he who makes one proudest of being a thinking creature, and one may not establish a merely artistic standard for this stupendous man.

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